Irish Wrongs and English Remedies

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WITH OTHER ESSAYS

BY

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PREFACE.

THIS book consists of a number of essays and pamphlets written on the Irish Question during the past six years.

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2, NEW COURT, LINCOLN'S INN,
April, 1887.

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*IRISH WRONGS AND ENGLISH REMEDIES.**

A Statement of Facts.

It is now nearly two hundred years since the last conquest of Ireland was completed by William III.; yet Irish disaffection is to-day the difficulty and the danger of the Empire. Apart altogether from the question of causes this fact has to be faced. But what are the causes?

The irreconcilable character of the Irish people, Englishmen say; Irishmen, the unwillingness and inability of the Imperial Parliament to do complete justice to their country.

Let us look at the English and the Irish case, and consider the facts on which each rests, or is supposed to rest.

Englishmen say, "We know that the government of Ireland in the past was very bad. We do not attempt to defend the penal laws, and we even admit that, between 1800 and 1829, the administration of Irish affairs was scandalously unjust. But a new order of things arose after Catholic Emanci-

* *Nineteenth Century*, November, 1885.

pation. A policy of conciliation was then adopted, and ever since we have been engaged in conceding Irish demands and in repairing the wrongs of bygone days. See what a goodly list of concessions we have to show. National Education in 1831; Parliamentary Reform in 1832; the Tithe Commutation Act in 1838; the Poor Laws; the Irish Reform Act of 1868; the Church Act of 1869; the Land Act of 1870; the Intermediate Education Act of 1878; the Royal University Act of 1879; and the Land Act of 1881. Assuredly to name these measures is to prove the willingness and the ability of the Imperial Parliament to do complete justice to Ireland."

Irishmen reply, "The wrongs which you inflicted on our country in the past were so grievous, that a century of effort to repair them would scarcely atone for your misdeeds. Yet on your own admission the policy of reparation began only fifty years ago. But was it even then generously taken up and perseveringly carried out? Assuredly not. You never gave with a free hand. Your 'concessions' were yielded to force, not to justice. When you could you coerced, and when coercion became inconvenient or dangerous you conceded. Your policy in Ireland for the past fifty years—and you yourselves are ashamed of your record up to that time—has been 'an alternation of kicks and kindness'—kicks freely given, and kindness grudgingly

bestowed. Do you expect to conciliate a people who have suffered all the penalties and endured all the humiliations of conquest by a policy of reparation such as this? You say you have a goodly list of concessions to show. But we have a goodly list of Coercion Acts to show, too. Here you have them year by year, and almost every year.

	1831	Stanley's Arms Act.
	1832	
	1833	Grey's Coercion Act.
	1834	
	1834	Grey's Coercion (Continuance) Act.
	1835	
(April)	1835	A 'Public Peace Act' and other measures of exceptional legislation were enacted, but no coercion was enforced. Thomas Drummond governed.*
	1836	
	1837	
	1838	
	1839	
	1840	
	1841	
	1842	
(Aug.)	1843	Arms Act.
	1844	
	1845	
	1846	
(Dec.)	1847	Crime and Outrage Act.
	1848	Habeas Corpus Suspension Act, Crime and Outrage Act, Removal of Aliens Act.
	1849	

* During the Viceroyalty of Lord Mulgrave, Thomas Drummond, who held the post of Under-Secretary at Dublin Castle, was practically the Government of Ireland, and he dispensed with and condemned the old methods of coercion; ruling, not by force, but by public opinion. He left Ireland more tranquil than she has ever been since the Union, and died regretted by the nation.

1850, 1851, 1852, 1853, 1854, 1855	Crime and Outrage (Continuance) Act.
1856, 1857	Peace Preservation Act.
1858, 1859, 1860, 1861, 1862, 1863, 1864	Peace Preservation (Continuance) Act.
1865	Peace Preservation (Continuance) Act.
1866, 1867, 1868, (part) 1869	Habeas Corpus Suspension Act.
1870, 1871	Peace Preservation Act.
1872	
1873, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878, 1879, 1880	Peace Preservation Act, or Protection of Life and Property Act.
1881, 1882	Mr. Forster's Coercion Act.
1883, 1884, 1885	The Crimes Act.

"There is, moreover, this difference between your concessions and your Coercion Acts. The latter have been effective as measures of oppression, the former have not been effective as measures of reparation."

The issue being thus joined, let us look into the case.

The grievances of which the Irish people complained fifty years ago were—

1. The absence of a system of primary education which the Catholics, forming the great bulk of the population, could conscientiously accept.

2. The alteration of the Parliamentary franchise, which practically placed the representation of the country in the hands of the Protestant Ascendency.*

3. The existence and endowment of the Protestant Episcopalian Church for the small minority of 800,000, and the imposition of tithes on the overwhelming Catholic majority of 6,000,000.

4. The practical exclusion of Catholics from the Municipal Corporations.

5. The chronic misery of the people, due mainly to a land system under which their industry was fettered and the proper cultivation of the soil prevented.

6. The want of State help for the higher education of Catholics.

* In 1829 Sir Robert Peel disfranchised the 40*s*. freeholders, reducing the county constituency from 200,000 to 27,000 voters.

7. The presence at Dublin of a "foreign" Executive, who ruled the country in the interests of the Ascendency alone.

Such were the chief grievances which required to be removed. How and when were they dealt with by Imperial Parliament?

NATIONAL EDUCATION.

The old educational policy of keeping the Catholics ignorant, unless they conformed to the State religion, was not wholly abandoned until 1831. The infamous Charter Schools established in the eighteenth century for proselytizing purposes continued to receive grants from Parliament until 1832, and other such like institutions were helped by the State up to about the same period; while all this time not a shilling of the public money was given in support of Catholic schools. The Ascendency said, in effect, "the Catholics shall not be educated unless in the way we like." And the Imperial Parliament supported the Ascendency for thirty-one years after the Union. In 1831 a new departure was made, and the National Schools were established on a principle of compromise acceptable to the Catholics, but not to the Protestants.

These schools, supported by Parliamentary grants, were to be open alike to Protestants and Catholics. Four days in the week were to be

devoted to moral and literary, and one or two days to separate religious, instruction. A Board, composed partly of Catholics and partly of Protestants, was to have the entire management and control of the system.

Short of denominational education, which both Catholics and Protestants desired, no more workable scheme could be devised. In addition it was yielded without force, and passed through Parliament without difficulty.

But it was unfairly carried out. To begin with, the Board was composed of four Protestants and only two Catholics—in a country where the Catholics were to the Protestants as five to one.

Next, the control and management of the system was practically entrusted to a Scotch Presbyterian clergyman, without knowledge or experience of the country, or sympathy with its people. With one exception, all the books were prepared by Englishmen or Scotchmen, and pains were taken to exclude Irish history and to suppress all national or patriotic sentiments.

In one of the books we find this statement about Ireland: "On the east of Ireland is England, where the Queen lives; many people who live in Ireland were born in England, and we speak the same language, and are called the same nation." Let us see how in another book Scotland was dealt with: "Edward the First annexed the Principality

of Wales to his kingdom, A.D. 1283. He afterwards attempted to do the same with Scotland, but was successfully resisted, particularly by Sir William Wallace. This celebrated patriot drove his troops out of the kingdom. He was ultimately taken and basely executed by Edward, and a new effort projected to subdue the Scots. But before the army of Edward entered Scotland he died, leaving his crown and enterprise to his son, Edward II. This prince followed up the intention of his father, but was defeated at Bannockburn, and thus the independence of the Scots was established."

It was allowable to speak of Sir William Wallace as a "celebrated patriot," to think with pride on the struggle of the Scots for independence; but it would have been treason to mention the names of Arte McMurrough or Hugh O'Neil, to tell how Sarsfield fought or Emmett died.

Lines on the "Irish Harp" by Miss Balfour, Campbell's poem "The Harper," and Scott's "Breathes there a man," etc., were suppressed by Archbishop Whately.* But his Grace kindly allowed the use of the following hymn:—

> "I thank the goodness and the grace
> That on my birth have smiled,
> And made me in these Christian days
> A happy English child."

* These poems, put in by the Scotch Presbyterian clergyman, were struck out by the English archbishop.

This boycotting of everything national or patriotic was accompanied by the gradual removal or amendment, in deference to Protestant opinion, of the rules originally framed to reconcile the Catholics to the scheme. The result was a popular agitation against the schools, which kept alive the memories of old wrongs, and ended by destroying the feeling of gratitude which Lord Stanley's plan had at first inspired.

This state of things lasted until 1860, when, after thirty years of intermittent agitation, the system was reformed on popular lines. The schools have now become practically denominational.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

The Irish Reform Act of 1832 was carried over the heads of the Irish members, who condemned it as narrow and inadequate. The franchises proposed by O'Connell were—

40*s*. freeholders.
£5 freeholders.
£10 leaseholders.

Those proposed and carried by Ministers—

£10 freeholders.
£20 leaseholders.
£10 leaseholders.

Stanley said the Bill would give a full representation to Ireland. O'Connell entirely disputed this.

In the result O'Connell proved to be right.

In 1844 Sir W. Somerville, subsequently Chief Secretary for Ireland, said—

"The House well remembered that by the Reform Act a £10 franchise was conferred on Ireland, and the general opinion at the time of passing the measure was that under that franchise a very extensive constituency would be created in Ireland. This expectation has entirely failed."

In the same year the Marquis of Normanby said—

"Your lordships are not aware of the extent of the inequality which prevails between the franchise in Ireland and England. If you take the population of Great Britain, including Wales, in round numbers at 18,000,000, and the population of Ireland in round numbers at 8,000,000, you will find the proportion of the population between the two countries as 2¼ to 1; but the number of electors in England is 820,000, while the number of electors in Ireland is only 100,000; there is, therefore, a proportion of 8½ electors to 1 between the two countries, with a population of 2¼ to 1.

In 1850, when Mr. Bright declared that "the representation of Ireland was virtually extinguished," the proposal made by O'Connell in 1832 was accepted, and the £10 franchise was reduced to £5. By the Irish Reform Bill of 1868, the principle of "inequality" between the franchises in both countries was still maintained, and while household suffrage was established in English boroughs, the right to vote in Irish boroughs was limited to £4

ratepayers. It was not until 1884 that both English and Irish franchises were assimilated in all respects.

THE TITHE COMMUTATION ACT.

The story of the Tithe Commutation Act forms the saddest chapter in the history of the fifty years. The agitation against tithes recommenced in 1830. The demand for their removal was, in the first instance, practically met by the historic "never." Coercion Acts were passed to put down resistance. Military and police were employed to collect the tithes, and all the machinery of Government was placed at the disposal of the Ascendency. Between 1830 and 1834 the country presented scenes of tumult and disorder, which intensified the popular hatred of England, and kept the memory of conquest fresh in the mind of the nation. The peasants went forth to fight against the law, and the authorities confronted them with ball and steel. Sanguinary encounters frequently took place. At Carrickshock the police were routed and slaughtered by the peasants, and at Newtownbarry, Thurles, Kilkenny, Castle Pollard, Wallstown, and Rathcormac, the peasants were routed and slaughtered by the soldiers and police. The "battle" of Rathcormac—where the peasants had shown "a determined bravery," that won the admiration of the gallant English officer, who was most reluctantly forced to

shoot them down—shocked Sir Robert, and he at once took up the matter.* In February, 1835, he introduced a Bill converting tithe into a rent-charge at £75 per cent. of the tithe. This proposal was met by an amendment of Lord John Russell, that the "surplus revenues of the Established Church should be applied to purposes of general education in Ireland."

The amendment was carried against Ministers by a majority of 178 to 140. Peel finally resigned, and Lord Melbourne, supported by O'Connell, came into office.

In June, 1835, the Government introduced a Bill converting tithes into a rent-charge at £68 per cent. of the tithe, and including Lord John Russell's "appropriation clause." The measure was carried through the Commons by a majority of 319 to 282,† but rejected in the Lords by a majority of 138 to 41. In 1836 the Bill was once more carried through the Commons by a majority of 300 to 261 votes,‡ but again rejected in the Lords by a majority of 138 to 47. In 1837 it was again brought forward *minus* the appropriation clause, but, owing to the death of the King, postponed. Finally, in 1838, an Act, converting tithes into a rent-charge of £75 per

* The details of the terrible struggle for the abolition of tithes will be found in "Fifty Years of Concessions to Ireland," vol. i. book iii.

† Committed. Third reading without division.

‡ Second reading. Appropriation carried in committee by 290 to 264.

cent. of the tithe, as proposed by Sir R. Peel three years previously, and containing no appropriation clause, was passed. It is a grave statement to make, but the truth must be spoken. The measure of concession was the measure of the popular resistance at Rathcormac. The Government of Lord Melbourne is not, however, to blame for this. They strove to do what was just. But the public opinion of England—bitterly hostile to the Irish people in those days, and faithfully reflected by the House of Lords—was too strong for them.

THE POOR LAW.

The Poor Law, delayed until 1838, although there had been a Poor Law in England since the time of Queen Elizabeth, was, like the Reform Bill of 1832, carried over the heads of the Irish members. In the first instance, the Government appointed a Commission, consisting of several Irishmen, and some Englishmen of Irish experience, to inquire into the subject. But the Report of this Commission, which sat for three years, was disregarded by Ministers, and the Report of a Scotch gentleman who, at the request of Lord John Russell, paid a flying visit of six weeks to the country, accepted. When the Bill, founded on this gentleman's report, was brought forward, all the amendments introduced by the Irish members were rejected; and when it

became law he was practically entrusted with the working of the system. Here we have an instance of the fatal policy of ignoring Irish public opinion —of giving to Irishmen not the things they want, but the things which Englishmen think they ought to have. A Poor Law, based on the report of an Irish Commission and worked by Irishmen, would have been accepted as a concession. A Poor Law, based on the report of a Scotch gentleman and worked by Scotch or English officials, was not.

MUNICIPAL REFORM.

A competent English authority—Sir Erskine May—has described the Irish Municipal Reform Act of 1840 as "virtually a scheme of municipal disfranchisement." This description is justified by the facts. Before 1840 there were sixty-eight corporations in Ireland, and all of them were in the hands of the Ascendency. In 1835 the Government of Lord Melbourne resolved to reform those bodies. A Bill, creating a £10 household suffrage in seven of the largest cities, and a £5 one in the others, was introduced, and passed through the House of Commons without a division in July, 1835, but, owing to the lateness of the session, it was not sent up to the Lords. In 1836 Sir Robert Peel met the Government proposal by a plan for the abolition of the corporations altogether, but the Ministerial

measure was carried through the Commons by a majority of 260 to 199.* In the Lords, however, Peel's plan was carried by a majority of 203 to 119. In these circumstances, Lord John Russell expressed his willingness to accept a compromise scheme, by which thirteen of the corporations were to be preserved with a £10 household franchise, and the rest converted into towns, governed by Commissioners appointed by the Lord-Lieutenant, with a £5 household franchise. Peel opposed this proposal, but it was adopted by 384 to 232 votes. It was, however, rejected in the Lords by 220 to 123 votes. In 1837 it was again passed through the Commons, and again rejected by the Lords.

In 1838 Peel proposed the compromise of a £10 rating franchise in twelve of the largest towns, and a similar franchise in the smaller, provided the Lord-Lieutenant allowed them to be reincorporated. Lord John Russell consented to this proposal on conditions that the franchise in the small towns—corporations *in posse*—should be reduced to £5. For two years longer a struggle was carried on between the two parties, mainly over the question of the franchise in the smaller towns (in the event of their being incorporated); and finally, in 1840, an Act was passed, abolishing fifty-eight municipalities, and creating a £10 ratable franchise in the ten which were to be preserved, and in any others to

* Third reading.

which the Lord-Lieutenant might, in the future, grant a charter. This Act is still to a great extent in force. With one exception—Dublin—the franchise in the corporate towns of Ireland is still limited to £10 ratepayers, while every householder has a vote in the municipalities of England.*

THE CHURCH ACT.

If it be the victor's first duty to remove from the minds of the vanquished the memory of defeat, then the folly of the Imperial Parliament, in maintaining the Protestant State Church in Ireland until 1869, cannot be exaggerated. While that Church existed, the reverse of the Boyne could never be forgotten. For, why should the Church of 800,000 individuals, professing the national religion of England, be established and endowed, while that of 6,000,000,† professing the national

* "In England every person, *male* or *female*, who has occupied for twelve months any house rated to the poor, is entitled to the municipal franchise. In Ireland, in all towns except Dublin, every *man* only, who has occupied a house rated at *the Government value of* £10 (equal to a rental of £17 in Ireland, or, say, £22 in England), is entitled to the municipal franchise. In Dublin, though the suffrage is ostensibly household, yet the necessity of three years' residence, and the rating of landlords instead of occupiers, together with the non-rating of quarterly tenants, annihilate the household franchise."—Harvey, "Irish Leaflets," No. 1, 1884.

† In 1834 the Catholics were, in round numbers, 6,000,000; the Protestant Episcopalians, 800,000. In 1861 the Catholics were 4,000,000; the Protestant Episcopalians, 600,000.

religion of Ireland, remained unaided by the State, save that William had conquered at the Hill of Dunore, and Sarsfield had capitulated at Limerick. But the English people did not recognize these things fifty, thirty, twenty years ago. In 1843 Lord Elliot, Chief Secretary for Ireland, said, in opposing a motion for the reform of the Church, that he could see no difference between the "existence of a Protestant Establishment and of a Protestant Sovereign," and that so long as the latter "must profess one of the two creeds," the "two religious persuasions could not be placed on a footing of perfect equality." He added, the "compact" entered into at the Union must be kept.

In 1844 the Government of Sir Robert Peel refused even to grant an inquiry. "Any attempt," said Lord Elliot, "to alienate any portion of the revenues of the Church, and to apply it to other than Church purposes, would be unjust and inexpedient." "The attempt," said Sir James Graham, "I will not say to subvert the Church, for that might be disallowed, but to take a large portion of its revenues, either for Roman Catholic endowments or for secular purposes, is forbidden by justice, forbidden by the compact entered into by the United Parliament, and forbidden by the sanction of the highest moral obligations." In 1846 Lord John Russell said he was "opposed to any policy destructive" of the Church, and that he "had

never held the opinion that it ought to be destroyed," though it needed reform. In 1849 a motion for an inquiry was rejected in the House of Commons by 170 to 103 votes. In 1853 Lord John Russell declared that it was not the intention of the Government "to legislate with regard to the Established Church of Ireland on the basis of perfect religious equality." In 1854 a motion for the reform of the Church was rejected in the House of Commons by 117 to 31 votes. In 1865 the Home Secretary of the day, in opposing Mr. Dillwyn's motion, that "the present position of the Irish Church Establishment is unsatisfactory," said "no practical grievance exists," and "in attempting to redress the theoretical grievance a great shock will be given to our laws and institutions." In 1866 Ministers opposed Sir John Gray's motion, that the "position of the Established Church is a just cause of dissatisfaction, and urgently demands the consideration of Parliament," on the grounds, not of "abstract justice," but of "common sense, possibility, time, circumstance." * In 1867 the Government of Mr. Disraeli opposed a motion for an inquiry, and secured its rejection by 195 to 183 votes. On this occasion, Mr. Bright—the steady advocate for thirty years of a policy of justice to Ireland — and Lord Hartington voted in the minority. Mr. Gladstone did not take part in the

* Mr. Chichester Fortescue, Irish Secretary.

division, but said, in the course of the debate, "The time is not far distant when the Parliament of England, which at present undoubtedly has its hands full of other most important business and engagements, will feel it its duty to look this question fairly and fully in the face." Two years later the Parliament of England "looked the question in the face," under circumstances with which every one is familiar. Between 1865 and 1867 a formidable revolutionary movement, which had existed for several years previously in Ireland, overflowed into England, and culminated in an attempt at insurrection in Ireland. The discovery of a plot to seize Chester Castle, the rescue of two political prisoners from a police van in the city of Manchester, the blowing up of a gaol in the heart of the metropolis, together with the alarming condition in Ireland, where the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, where the gaols were filled with rebels, where troops scoured the country, and vessels of war lined the coasts, brought home to the minds and conscience of the English people the stern reality of Irish discontent. In the storm the Church perished. In 1869 Mr. Gladstone carried through Parliament his famous measure of Disestablishment—the only "complete" measure of justice passed for Ireland since Catholic Emancipation.

THE LAND.

No question affords a fairer test of the capacity of the Imperial Parliament to legislate for Ireland than that of the land. Since the Union (as before) there has been a struggle between landlord and tenant which, whatever else may be said about it, has perpetuated the feuds and enmities of contending classes. How has the Imperial Parliament dealt with it? Between 1800 and 1870 Acts of repressive legislation were constantly passed, and Select Committees were frequently appointed; tenants were shot, hanged, or imprisoned for violating the law, and the machinery of the State was employed to help the landlords in collecting their rents and putting down the insurrections of the peasantry. Yet the struggle went on, checking the material progress of the country and barbarizing its people.

The Select Committees reported, English publicists and politicians from time to time admitted, that the land system—under which insecurity of tenure prevailed, exorbitant rents were exacted, and the improvements made by the tenants subjected to confiscation—lay at the root of the mischief; but Parliament applied no remedy. "It is the imperative duty of the Legislature," urged a Select Committee in 1830, "to consider what

means can be devised to secure for the country a better economic condition, promoting the better management of estates, and regulating the relation of landlord and tenant on rational and useful principles." "The most frightful part of the Irish system," said Mr. Bicheno in the same year, "is the relation that subsists between landlord and tenant. [The landlords are] needy, exacting, unremitting, harsh, and without sympathy for their tenants; [while the tenants] have been alienated by exactions and made vindictive by oppression." "The peasantry of Ireland," said Poulett Scrope (M.P. for Stroud) in 1839, "feel that the law places their lives at the mercy of the few, whom it invests with sovereign power over the land of their native country, with power to sweep them at will off its surface. Therefore do they combine against it; therefore it is they show no more repugnance to the shedding of blood than does a soldier hired to fight for his country's safety on the field of battle."

"The tenant in Ireland," said the *Times* in 1842, "has not the shadow of the character of a voluntary contractor. It is with him to continue on the quarter of an acre which he occupies, or to starve. There is no other alternative. Rack-rents may be misery, but ejectment is ruin. And yet in this state of things estates are farmed out to middlemen and ejectments are then brought, because the unhappy tenant is behind with his rent, or,

what is still worse, upon some trivial breach of covenant, merely because possession would be convenient to the person seeking it. What has been the result? Conspiracy, hatred, revenge, and murder—most cold-blooded, most brutal murder."

"The main evil," said Sir Matthew Barrington, Crown Solicitor on the Munster Circuit, in a letter to Sir Robert Peel in 1844, "which paralyzes the best energies of the country, has reference to the state of landed property; the system of middle men with rack-rents—subdivisions of land, clearing of estates, consolidation of farms, etc., etc.—all tend to unsettle and alienate the minds of the peasantry by depriving them of an interest in the soil they cultivate. It is this which has caused the disorders of the country for the last century."

[The peasantry of Ireland,] reported the Devon Commission in 1845, "are badly housed, badly fed, badly clothed, badly paid, and we cannot forbear expressing our strong sense of the patient endurance which they have generally exhibited under sufferings greater, we believe, than the people of any other country in Europe have to sustain" . . . [The means for bettering their condition] are "an increased and improved cultivation of the soil," by securing them "fair remuneration for the outlay of [their] capital and labour. [To this end] we earnestly hope that the Legislature will be disposed to entertain a Bill, and to pass it

into law with as little delay as is consistent with a full discussion of its principles and details. We are convinced that in the present state of feeling in Ireland no single measure can be better calculated to allay discontent and to promote substantial improvement throughout the country. In some cases the existence of such a law will incline the landlord to expend his own capital in making permanent improvements. In others, he may be called upon, on the eviction or retirement of tenants, to provide the amount for which their claims may be established under the Act." "Nothing," said Lord Stanley in the same year, "goes so much to the root of the social condition of the people of Ireland as the providing greater security to the industrious tenant of some compensation for the permanent, or almost permanent, improvements effected by him during his occupation of the land." "I see every reason," said Sir Robert Peel in 1849, "why Ireland, if her position in respect of tenure could be improved, should be most prosperous."

"Are we to stand by with folded arms," said the *Times* in 1850, writing after the murder of a land agent in the north of Ireland, "looking on in mute despair, as if these events were an inevitable necessity—an evil beyond the reach of law or public opinion? Surely we are not justified in adopting such a listless course. If the proprietors of the soil, in maintaining the rights which the law

has given them, thus recklessly inflict misery without stint upon the helpless and unfortunate peasantry; if they say that without the perpetration of barbarities which would disgrace a Turkish Pasha their rents cannot be collected; if they are to bring in the attorney multiplying process, and with process multiplying costs and reducing the peasantry to hopeless slavery; and if they are thus to convert the country into a battle-field for the landlords and process-servers, and sheriffs and sheriff officers on the one side, and the furious peasantry and banded assassins on the other—then we say it is the bounden duty of the Legislature to interfere, and either to enforce upon the present landlords the duties, while it maintains the rights, of property, or to create a new landed proprietary, whose intelligence and wealth will enable them to secure the peace of society, and thus lay the foundation of national prosperity."

The Legislature did not "stand by with folded arms" while the landlords "recklessly inflicted misery" on the unfortunate peasantry and the tenants retaliated by acts of outrage and murder. It vainly passed measure after measure of coercion to put down "the furious peasantry and banded assassins," but it enacted no law to "enforce upon the landlords the duties of property." Between 1835 and 1870 fourteen Bills were introduced for the purpose of securing to the tenants on eviction

compensation for improvements made by them in the soil, but not one of these Bills became law. Between 1845 and 1852 the question of Land Reform was taken up in a generous spirit both by Lord Stanley and Mr. Napier, Irish Attorney-General in the Conservative Ministry of 1852, but their efforts were ineffectual. A Bill brought in by Lord Stanley in 1845 to secure compensation for prospective improvements, and another brought in by Mr. Napier in 1852, to secure compensation for prospective and retrospective improvements, had both to be abandoned owing mainly to the opposition of the House of Lords. From the rejection of Mr. Napier's Bill to the introduction of Mr. Gladstone's in 1870, the cause of the Irish tenants—that is to say, practically, the cause of the Irish people—lost ground in the Imperial Parliament. The English Ministries of 1835, 1841, and 1852 were more sympathetic to the Irish peasantry than any of the succeeding Ministries up to 1868. "Property has its duties, as well as its rights," said Thomas Drummond in 1835. "Compensation for improvements should be secured to the industrious tenant," said Lord Stanley in 1845. "When concessions are to be made, the sooner they are made the better," said Mr. Napier in 1852, in urging the House of Commons to accept his Tenants' Compensation Bill. But the lines of policy thus laid down were abandoned by

English statesmen for a period of nearly twenty years. "The leading principle of this Bill," said Lord Palmerston in 1855, in opposing a Tenants' Compensation Bill, which was practically the same as Mr. Napier's Bill of 1852, "is to transfer the property of one set of persons to another and a different class. . . . A retrospective enactment, which transfers from the landlord to the tenant that which by law has hitherto been the property of the former, which both parties know and have always known to have been his property—an Act which does this is, I conceive, most unjust, and ought not to be allowed."

"The Irish Land Question is not a question to be settled by political agitation, but by the course of events," said Sir Robert Peel, then Irish Secretary, in 1862. "As to 'tenant right,'" said Lord Palmerston in 1865, "I may be allowed to say that I think it is equivalent to landlord wrong." "I think," said Mr. Cardwell in 1865—"putting down his foot," and disposing of the Irish Land Question for all time—"I think we should be open to grave reprehension if we permitted the impression to go forth in Ireland that we were at all uncertain about the rights of property in that country. I wish to express my individual opinion that, by whatever name it may be called, compulsory compensation for improvements effected against the will of the landlord is not a principle which is consistent with

the rights of property." Five years after this speech was made—five years of disorder and rebellion, during more than three of which the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended—Mr. Gladstone carried through Parliament a Bill providing "compulsory compensation for improvements effected against the will of the landlord."

The Land Act of 1870 failed to secure the ends for which it was passed—to prevent arbitrary eviction and the exaction of exorbitant rents—and between 1876 and 1881 several measures of a moderate character were introduced by Irish members to amend it. None of these became law.

In 1876 Mr. Butt brought in a Bill to establish the "three F's"—Fixity of Tenure, Free Sale, and Fair Rents—throughout the whole country; but it was opposed by both the great English parties, and rejected in the House of Commons by a majority of 290 to 56. In 1877 Mr. Crawford introduced a measure to extend the Ulster custom—the right of free sale—to the rest of Ireland; it was talked out by an English Tory member. In 1878 the same measure was rejected by a majority of 85 to 66; and Mr. Butt's Bill of 1876, reintroduced by Mr. McCarthy Downing, was rejected by a majority of 286 to 86. In 1879 Mr. Butt's Bill, reintroduced by Mr. Shaw, was once more rejected, by a majority of 263 to 91, and Mr. Crawford's Bill was again talked out. In the

course of the debate on the former measure, Mr. Lowther, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, "put down his foot," and, protesting against the extension of the Ulster custom to the rest of Ireland, said that he could conceive "no worse system upon which land could be held than that which is known as the Ulster custom." But before two years had passed, and after Ireland had once more been thrown into the "cauldron of revolution," after a struggle which perhaps did more to embitter the relations between the two countries than any agitation which has taken place for half a century, a sweeping measure of reform was carried through Parliament, establishing the Ulster custom on a firm basis all over the land, and recognizing the principle of fixity of tenure and fair rents.

These are the circumstances under which the Irish grievances of fifty years ago have been dealt with.

Are they such as to encourage the hope that the Imperial Parliament will do in the future what it certainly has not done in the past—deal with Irish problems so as to conciliate Irish public opinion, to obliterate the memory of conquest, and to establish friendly relations between the two countries? "The union with Ireland," says Lord John Russell in his "Recollections and Suggestions," "has preserved and crystallized some of the worst wrongs which had aggravated the miseries of conquest."

Are the Irish people unreasonable in being disloyal to an arrangement which has done this? Mr. Chamberlain has recently called attention to the fact that one of those "wrongs" is still "preserved" —the government of Ireland by a "foreign" Executive. Far be it from me to introduce into this or any controversy matters of a personal character. But I may be permitted to say, in a spirit of courtesy, and indeed of friendliness, that the administration of Ireland is at this moment* entrusted mainly to three gentlemen who, before their arrival in the country, had shown no special knowledge of Irish affairs, no marked sympathy with Irish opinion. Conceive the affairs of Scotland or Wales being placed in the hands of Mr. Parnell, Mr. Healy, and Mr. Dillon. Are these gentlemen less informed about Welsh and Scotch affairs, less in harmony with the Welsh or Scotch public opinion, than were Lord Carnarvon, Sir. W. H. Dyke, or Sir Robert Hamilton about Irish affairs, with Irish opinion, before their appointment to the government of that country?

Since the time of Thomas Drummond there has been no Irish administration in sympathy with the Irish people. Is this system of governing Ireland to last, and, if not, how is it to be replaced? This is the question which now confronts the statesmen of England. Upon the answer given to it depend

* November, 1885.

the future happiness and welfare of the people of these islands. Will the Irish demand for the management of Irish affairs by Irishmen possessing the confidence of the masses of their fellow-countrymen be granted or refused, and, if granted, to what extent? An English statesman has recently spoken of "legislation by fractions." English legislation for Ireland in the past has been "legislation by fractions." Almost every concession has been a half-measure spoiled by a grudging spirit, and wanting the sympathy that crowns a gracious deed. Shall it still be so? Will English statesmen meet the renewed demand with the old uncompromising cry of "Never!" then grant a fractional part, and end by yielding everything to violence and rebellion?

*THREE ATTEMPTS TO RULE IRELAND JUSTLY.**

SINCE the subjugation of Ireland by William III., three honest and earnest attempts have been made to govern the country on principles of justice, to repair the wrongs of conquest, to obliterate the memory of defeat. The first attempt was made by William himself on the surrender of Limerick; the second by Lord Melbourne in 1835; the third by Mr. Gladstone in 1868.† The history of these attempts deserves to be recorded.

I. WILLIAM III.

Lord Bacon said that three things were necessary for the reduction and pacification of Ireland —(1) "The extinguishing of the relics of war;" (2) "The recovery of the hearts of the people;" (3) "The removing of the root and occasions of new

* *Nineteenth Century*, April, 1886.

† Mr. Gladstone received the seals of office in December, 1868. He introduced and carrried the Irish Church Bill in 1869.

troubles." The views of Lord Bacon were the views of William III. The humane and sagacious Dutch warrior and statesman believed that, the work of conquest done, the work of reparation should commence; that the loss of national independence should be counterbalanced by the full enjoyment of all the rights and privileges of a common citizenship. Political incorporation, not national extirpation, was the basis of the Irish policy of William III. The principles of this policy were embodied in the Treaty of Limerick, by which the Irish people were granted freedom of worship, allowed the use of arms, the possession of their estates, the right to sit in Parliament, to vote at elections, to practise law and medicine, to engage in trade and commerce. "The upshot of the whole struggle," as Professor Ranke has well expressed it, "was this: the Irish and Catholics must renounce all thought of acquiring independence, for which they had taken up arms; on the other hand, Protestantism could not have that exclusive mastery which many desired." In other words, it was the wish of William that popular liberty should survive national overthrow.

But the peace of Limerick was hateful to the English colonists, who resolved to destroy or reduce to a condition of abject serfdom the whole of the native population. And the conflict, which has endured for two hundred years, between the

party of coercion and the party of conciliation—between those who wished that "Protestantism should have the exclusive mastery" and those who believed that Catholic freedom should be upheld—began as soon as the last Irish soldier had sailed with Sarsfield for France.

A few weeks after the solemn compact signed on the banks of the Shannon, Dr. Dopping, the Bishop of Meath, sounded the keynote of intolerance, injustice, and bad faith. He declared from the pulpit, in the presence of the Lords Justices, that the Treaty of Limerick should not be kept; that no privileges, no rights, should be extended to the native race; that Irish papists should not be trusted nor recognized. But Dr. Moreton, the Bishop of Kildare, mindful of the honour of his sovereign, and influenced by sentiments of justice and morality, repudiated the doctrines preached by his brother of Meath, protesting that the public faith pledged at Limerick should not be violated; that Catholics should be permitted to remain within the pale of the Constitution, and to enjoy the full rights of fellow-subjects and fellow-countrymen.

Both sermons were sent to William, who acted with characteristic vigour and conscientiousness. He removed Dopping from the Privy Council, and put Moreton in his place.

Four months later the King was again called on

to prevent a gross and shameless infraction of the Treaty. The second article, as originally drawn, had provided that

"The inhabitants of Limerick or any other garrison now in possession of the Irish, and all officers and soldiers now in arms under any commission from King James in the counties of Limerick, Cork, Kerry, Clare, and Mayo, and *all such as were under their protection in the said counties*, shall hold, possess, and enjoy all and every their estates of freehold and inheritance, and all the rights, titles, interests, privileges, and immunities which they and every or any of them were entitled to in the reign of Charles the Second, or at any time since, by the laws and statutes that were in force in the said reign of Charles the Second."

The words in italics were regarded as of great importance, both by the Irish and the colonists, as embracing practically the whole native population, whose landed estates were thus carefully secured to the rightful owners.* These words were, in truth, a barrier cautiously set up against any attempt at wholesale confiscation, and this barrier the colonists, bent on a policy of "public plunder," were resolved to throw down. The draft

* "So long," says Mr. Froude, in "The English in Ireland," "as the second of these [Limerick] articles contained the contested words, printed in italics, it conceded nearly all for which Sarsfield had asked. Very many of the Catholic gentry, being in the army, were protected as commissioned officers. The estates of most of those who were absent, and yet were compromised in the insurrection, were in the counties thus carefully particularized; and thus it might be said that nearly every Catholic of consequence, with a disposition to be dangerous, would be covered by the broad vagueness of the word 'protection!'"

of the Treaty had been signed outside the city walls on the 3rd of October, 1691. On the 4th of October the English army entered the upper part of the town; on the same day the draft was engrossed, and from the engrossment the words in italics were omitted. The attention of Sarsfield, who still held the lower part of the town with the whole Irish army, was called to the fact. He pointed out the omission to Ginkel, and requested that it should be "made good." After some discussion, and after the French fleet had anchored in the Shannon, Ginkel promised that the wishes of the Irish commander should be complied with, and that the omitted words should be restored. Nevertheless, four months afterwards, the engrossed Treaty was placed before William with the italicized words still left out. A discussion, we are informed, arose in the Privy Council as to whether they should be reinserted or not. But William, cutting short all debate, declared that the promise made to Sarsfield should be kept, and wrote on the instrument ratifying the Treaty—

"Whereas it appears unto us that it was agreed between the parties in the said articles that, after the words Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, Mayo, Sligo, or any of them, in the second of the said articles, the words following—viz. 'And all such as are under their protection in the said counties' should be inserted and be part of the said articles. Which words having been casually omitted by the writer, the omission was not discovered till after the said articles were signed,

but was taken notice of before the second * town was surrendered; and that our said justices and generals, or one of them, did promise that the said clause should be made good, it being within the intention of the capitulations, and inserted in the foul draft thereof. Our further will and pleasure is, and we do hereby ratify and confirm the said omitted words—viz. 'And all such as are under their protection in the said counties'—hereby for us, our heirs, or successors, ordaining and declaring that all and every person or persons therein concerned shall and may have, receive, and enjoy the benefit thereby in such and the same manner as if the said words had been inserted in their proper place in the said second article, any omission, defect, or mistake in the said second article in any wise notwithstanding."

The honourable action of the King, in thus confirming one of the most important clauses in the Treaty of Limerick, raised a storm of dissatisfaction among the English in Ireland. The Irish papists, they said, would be restored to their estates, and the English and Protestant interest would be destroyed. "Where the land goes," wrote the Lords Justices, "there goes the interest of a kingdom; and, no doubt of it, it must be a great mistake in policy, when there is so justifiable a pretence, to lose the opportunity of changing the proprietors from papists to Protestants, as this will be. The Protestants of Ireland," added their lordships, "will be in perfect despair if the papists are restored." But it was the intention of the Treaty of Limerick that the "papists" should be

* Limerick was divided into two towns—the upper, or "Irish" town; the lower, or English.

"restored;" and William refused to be a party to the frustration of that intention. Nevertheless, in the conflict which ensued between the King and the colonists, the latter were finally successful—not, however, without a strenuous effort on the part of William to maintain what he believed to be the right. His first Lord-Lieutenant—Lord Sydney—sought to observe the Treaty, and was, in consequence, assailed by the colonists and driven from the island. Of Sydney's successors—the Lords Justices Wyche, Duncombe, and Capel—the two former were desirous of treating the native race with justice; the latter was not. Once more the colonists attacked the men who were hostile to their aims, and once more the party of honour was defeated. Wyche and Duncombe were forced to retire, and Capel remained sole governor of Ireland.

Under the rule of this congenial viceroy, the colonial Parliament proceeded to tear the Treaty of Limerick into shreds. In an Act purporting to confirm the Treaty almost all the articles were one after another abrogated. Even the words which William had with so much care caused to be re-inserted, and had ratified under the Great Seal of England, were deliberately struck out. Thus was the barrier against confiscation completely thrown down.*

* *Ante*, p. 34.

This violation of the Treaty of Limerick by the very Act of Parliament purporting to confirm it was accompanied by laws disarming popish citizens —they had already been expelled from Parliament —banishing popish bishops, restraining popish education, disqualifying popish lawyers, and forbidding any papist to keep a horse above the value of five pounds. In brief, four years after the Treaty of Limerick had been signed the national religion was proscribed, the native race degraded, and the foundation laid of that infamous structure of laws which was securely raised shortly after William had passed away.

So terminated the struggle between the English monarch and the English colonists in Ireland ; so ended the efforts of the magnanimous Dutch prince to govern with justice the people whom he had conquered. A body of men, whose sole aim was plunder, succeeded in defeating the statesmanlike policy of one of the wisest and the best sovereigns that has ever sat on the throne of these realms.

After William's death, the colonists had it all their own way, and the result was the Penal Code, in the fulness of its atrocity. The story of that code is an old one, and need not be retold. For practical purposes, its nature may be sufficiently gathered from the words of Grattan. "The peace after Limerick," said the great orator, "was to the Catholics a sad servitude, to the Protestants a

drunken triumph." Its effect upon the landed interests of the native race may be stated in the words used by Lord Townshend in 1772. "The laws against Popery," he said, "have so far operated, that there is no papist family remaining at this day of any great weight from landed property."

For three-quarters of a century after William's death the Penal Laws remained in full force. In 1758 a judge declared from the Bench that "the laws did not presume any papists to exist in the kingdom, nor could they breathe without the connivance of the Government." In 1778 the era of "concession" opened, and Catholics were allowed to hold property in land. But this concession was not made in pursuance of a policy of redress. It was yielded to force. It was granted when England was in "difficulties" with her American and Irish colonists. It was an instance of that system of hand-to-mouth and unwilling legislation which has naturally failed to impress the Irish mind with any sense of English justice.*

* "But the Catholics were indebted, not only to the labours of their friends, but also to the great revolution which was going on at this period in America, for the first concessions that were made to them. This soon appeared very evident: an attempt was made by Mr. James Fitzgerald a few months before the introduction of the Act of 17 & 18 Geo. III. [the Act of 1778] to obtain for them a power to take leases for sixty-one years, and this attempt failed. But soon afterwards, when the intelligence arrived of the defeat of the British forces in America [at Saratoga], the same Parliament, on

In 1793 another important "concession" was made. The Catholics were admitted to the elective franchise. But this was hand-to-mouth, unwilling legislation again—another surrender to force, another boon to rebellion. In 1792, a petition praying for the admission of the Catholics to the franchise was rejected by the Protestant Colonial House of Commons by a majority of 208 to 23 votes. In 1793, a Bill embodying the prayer of this petition passed through Parliament practically without opposition. In the interval, the "United Irishmen" had become a power. The battle of Valmy had been fought and the allies of England on the Continent defeated. During all these years—from 1703 to 1793—no English statesman arose who attempted earnestly to carry out the policy of William III., who tried to "pacify" Ireland by "extinguishing the relics of war," by "recovering the hearts of the people," by "removing the root and occasions of new troubles." From William III. to Mr. Pitt we do not find any English statesman who had a "policy" for the government of Ireland. Mr. Pitt's policy, it is scarcely necessary to say, was a union, and the emancipation of the Catholics. How that policy was carried out is well known. The union was effected, but the

the recommendation of the Government, passed an Act enabling them to take land on leases for 999 years."—Parnell, "Penal Laws," p. 79.

Catholics were not emancipated. The colonists lost their Parliament, but the native race did not gain their liberties. For twenty-nine years after the union the hope of emancipation held out by the English Minister to the Irish people remains unrealized.

Then at length emancipation was conceded; not, however, as an act of justice or of grace, but as another "surrender to force, another boon to rebellion." As it was in 1778 and 1793, so it was in 1829. Sir Robert Peel, like his predecessors, had no Irish policy. His was still hand-to-mouth, unwilling legislation.

The Catholic Relief Act passed, the idea of an Irish policy based on principles of justice, or, indeed, on rational principles of any shape or kind whatever, had not yet dawned on British statesmen.

No English minister arose who manfully sought to carry out the policy of political incorporation aimed at by William III., or the policy of national extirpation attempted by Oliver Cromwell. To have made Ireland a Crown colony in 1829 would have been an intelligible proceeding. But to have admitted Irishmen of the native race and religion within the pale of the Constitution, to have given them seats in Parliament, to have made them eligible as judges of the land and ministers of the sovereign—and still to have excluded them from positions of power and emolument, still to have

treated them with disfavour and distrust, still to have persevered in the system of governing 6,000,000 Irish Catholics in accordance with the wishes of 800,000 Protestant Episcopalians—was assuredly a policy which cannot be justified on any rational principles whatever.

Yet such were the principles on which Ireland was governed until Lord Melbourne came into office in 1835.

"In 1833—four years after Catholic Emancipation," says Mr. Lecky, "there was not in Ireland a single Catholic judge or stipendiary magistrate. All the high sheriffs with one exception, the overwhelming majority of the unpaid magistrates and of the grand jurors, the five inspectors-general, and the thirty-two sub-inspectors of police, were Protestant. The chief towns were in the hands of narrow, corrupt, and, for the most part, intensely bigoted corporations. Even in a Whig Government not a single Irishman had a seat in the Cabinet; and the Irish Secretary was Mr. Stanley, whose imperious manners and unbridled temper had made him intensely hated. For many years promotion had been steadily withheld from those who advocated Catholic Emancipation, and the majority of the people thus found their bitterest enemies in the foremost places." *

II. Lord Melbourne.

"It is impossible to go on," said Sir Robert Peel in 1829; "you must do either of two things. You must go back to the Penal Laws or [emanci-

* "Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland," p. 260.

pate the Catholics]." But Sir Robert Peel practically did neither one thing nor the other. He passed an Act of Catholic Relief, but made it in the main a dead letter. He kept the word of promise to the ear, but broke it to the hope. He refused to follow the example of either of the two great English models of Irish policy—the hero of the Rebellion, or the hero of the Revolution. The eminent Tory statesman was too humane to be a Cromwell. He had neither the courage, nor perhaps the faith, in principles of just and equal government to be a William III.

In truth, the emancipation of the Catholics dates, practically, not from 1829, but from 1835. The Irish policy of the Dutch conqueror—the policy of political incorporation, as opposed to the policy of national extinction—was taken up, not by Sir Robert Peel, but by Lord Melbourne.

After the general election of 1834, the Whig party became dependent for support on O'Connell, and by the help of the great agitator Lord Melbourne was enabled to form a Government with a working majority of fifty.* A compact was practically entered into between the Irish leader and the Whig Premier, according to which the one was to suspend the demand for the repeal of the Union, and the other to legislate for and govern Ireland in harmony with Irish opinion and feeling. The

* Reduced after the election of 1837 to thirty-four.

Treaty of Limerick was at last to be put in force; the national religion and the native race were at length to be recognized. "Protestantism" was no longer to have the "exclusive mastery;" Catholicism was no longer to be a badge of disqualification—a mark of inferiority. Ireland was to become an integral part of the Empire, to be governed as England and Scotland were; equal laws, equal rights, equal privileges, were to be the lot of the three nations. The administration of Irish affairs was to be entrusted to men possessing the confidence of the Irish people, as the administration of English and Scotch affairs was entrusted to men possessing the confidence of the English and Scotch peoples.

Irish grievances were to be removed, Irish wants satisfied, Irish sentiments, and even prejudices, respected. In fine, the three nations were at length to be welded into one kingdom, bound together by identity of interests and of aims. "We are prepared," said Lord Melbourne's Chancellor of the Exchequer—an Irishman—in the House of Commons in 1835, "to blot out the Channel." O'Connell followed him in the debate, and said, "I am prepared to blot out the Channel, too."

This great compact was made at a turning-point in the history of the two countries.

The idea of separation, originated half a century previously by Wolfe Tone, seemed, under the

influence and teaching of O'Connell, to have completely passed away.

The idea of repeal had to some extent possession of the popular mind; but O'Connell had not yet flung himself heart and soul into the movement, and the country still remained comparatively quiescent. Just laws, fair play from the Imperial Parliament, and an Executive Government ready not merely to "consult," but to "consider" * Irish public opinion, might at this stage have satisfied the Irish people. The Melbourne Ministry during a period of five years earnestly endeavoured to make such laws, to give such fair play, to establish such an Executive Government. What came of the attempt?

The particular legislative remedies proposed by O'Connell were—the abolition of tithes and the appropriation of the surplus revenues of the Protestant Church in Ireland to purposes of general usefulness; the reform of the corporations; the extension of the Parliamentary franchise.

Immediately on the assembling of Parliament,

* Grattan gave as a reason why he never accepted office in Ireland that he would be "consulted, but not considered." "I was young and poor," he said; "I had scarcely £500 a year. Lord Charlemont was as poor as any peer, and I as any commoner. We were, however, determined to refuse office; and our opinion, and a just one too, was that office in Ireland was different from office in England; it was not a situation held for Ireland, but held for an English Government often in collision with, and frequently hostile to, Ireland. We stated that we should be consulted, but not considered."—"Memoirs."

the Government took up the questions of tithes and of municipal reform. A Bill was introduced for the commutation of tithes into a rent-charge at the lowest percentage of tithe hitherto proposed—viz. £68—and for the appropriation of the surplus revenues of the Established Church "to the general education of all classes of Christians." This measure was carried through the Commons, but rejected by the Lords. Year by year, up to 1838, tithe Bills were brought forward by Ministers, supported by the Irish party, carried through the Commons in the teeth of a persistent Tory opposition, but rejected in the Lords. Finally, in 1838, after the Government had come back weakened from the general election in 1837, Sir Robert Peel forced Lord Melbourne to accept a plan for the settlement of the question—viz. a Bill commuting tithes into a rent-charge of £75 per cent. of the tithe, and containing no appropriation clause at all.

The Government were equally prompt in dealing with the subject of municipal reform, but equally unsuccessful.

Between 1835 and 1840, Bills were brought forward by Ministers for the reform of the corporations on fair and liberal lines. These Bills were all lost, owing to the opposition of the Tory party and of the House of Lords. At length, in 1840, Peel compelled the Government to accept his plan of municipal reform, as well as he had previously compelled

them to accept his plan of tithe reform. An Act was passed disfranchising fifty-eight out of a total of sixty-eight Irish corporations, and conferring a narrow franchise on the remaining municipalities. The subject of Parliamentary Reform was not dealt with at all. Thus the legislative attempt of Lord Melbourne to do justice to the Irish people failed; but his efforts to give them an executive government, based "on principles of equality, instead of principles of gross preference and injustice, poisoned with religious hatred," * was eminently successful.

Mr. Disraeli described the Irish Executive in 1844 as "the weakest in the world." It would be scarcely an exaggeration to say that the Irish Executive in 1835–40 was one of the strongest in the world; and it was strong because it was supported by the public opinion of the country.

Lord Melbourne sent to Ireland a ruler who, first among the English governors of that country, showed the qualities necessary for gaining the confidence of the Irish people and winning them over to the side of "law and order"—viz. a knowledge of Irish history and character, an acquaintance

* "There came from the time of the Reform Act onward for a period of about ten years," said Mr. Gladstone at Edinburgh on the 24th of November, 1885, "a steady endeavour, I believe the first ever made in Ireland, to govern the country by the assistance, in a great degree, of a man famous in his day, perhaps now in a great degree forgotten—Lieutenant Thomas Drummond—to govern the country on principles of equality instead of principles of gross preference and injustice, poisoned with religious hatred."

with Irish wants, sympathy with Irish feeling, and an unchangeable determination to be consistently, uniformly, firmly just.

This ruler was Thomas Drummond.* Under his powerful administration old abuses were removed and new energy infused into the public service. Government by coercion was dropped; government by the ordinary law was vigorously carried out. Orange arrogance was bridled. Protestantism was deprived of the "exclusive mastery" it had so long usurped; but no undue favour was shown to the national creed. The people no longer saw their "bitterest enemies in the foremost places;" but the Ascendency could not point to a single man in the whole administration whom they dare pronounce one-sided, incapable, or corrupt. Indeed, the character of the Government may be well judged by the men who filled the positions of Attorney and Solicitor General. The one was Mr. Perrin, a Protestant; the other Mr. O'Loghlen, a Catholic. Both were men of eminence in their profession; both were friends of O'Connell; both were animated by zeal for the public service, and free from the taint of sectarianism.

Even-handed justice in all departments was the distinguishing feature of the Drummond Administration. With one hand the insulting Orange dis-

* Lord Mulgrave was Lord-Lieutenant, and Lord Morpeth Chief Secretary; but Drummond, who filled the post of Under-Secretary at Dublin Castle, was practically the Irish Government.

plays of the north were put down, with the other the savage faction fights of the south. In one case, a territorial grandee was deprived the commission of the peace because he had, at a public dinner, proposed a toast "commemorative of a lawless and disgraceful" * conflict in which papist peasants had been butchered by Orange bigots; in another, a police officer was severely rebuked because he had failed to charge and disperse a turbulent Catholic mob.

Centres of popular lawlessness were broken up, and strongholds of Ascendency undermined. Partisan judges were restrained, and the "wings" of a venal and oppressive magistracy "clipped." † The horrible struggle between the owners and the cultivators of the soil was dealt with in a fashion new alike to tenants and landlords. On the one hand, agrarian offenders were arrested, tried, convicted, and punished with little difficulty, and without public disapprobation; on the other, landlords were censured for acts of oppression, and boldly told to discharge the "duties" as well as exercise the "rights of property." The tithe war, which had fiercely raged in Ireland up to Drummond's arrival, was arrested, and the atrocious practice of sending out military and police to shoot down papist peasants for refusing to pay tithes to Protestant parsons was completely abandoned. Information

* Drummond's words. † Drummond's expression.

was gathered in from all quarters, and every form of opinion taken into account. The popular leaders were frequently "consulted" and always "considered," and the doors of Dublin Castle thrown wide open to all comers without distinction of politics, creed, or class. In fine, an Executive watchful of the interests of all classes and favouring none; vigorous in action, just in conduct, Irish in sympathy, and Imperial in aims—such was the great "concession" of the Melbourne Ministry to Ireland. "Put yourself in contact, not in collision with the people," said Sheil, in resisting Grey's Coercion Act of 1833. Drummond "put" himself in "contact with the people," and died in 1840, bewailed by the nation, and leaving Ireland more tranquil, more loyal to the British connection and the Union than she had been at any time previously, or than she has been at any time since.

But after the death of Drummond the Executive system which he had introduced was gradually overturned. In 1841 the Melbourne Ministry, which had become intensely unpopular in England on account of its Irish policy, fell; Sir Robert Peel succeeded to office, and the old order of things was restored. The policy of concession and of political incorporation was arrested, and the system of class government, hand-to-mouth legislation, repressive legislation, no legislation, revived. Protestantism again obtained almost the "exclusive mastery," and

the Irish Executive became "the weakest in the world." Agitation and rebellion immediately followed. O'Connell unfurled the banner of Repeal, and, for the first time, flung himself heart and soul into the struggle. Duffy, Davis, and the Young Irelanders sowed the seeds of revolution, and recalled the memory and the teachings of Wolfe Tone.

The idea of separation was revived, the idea of repeal was rooted in the public mind. From the death of Robert Emmet to the death of Thomas Drummond there was no separatist party in Ireland. From the death of Drummond to our own time this party has scarcely ever ceased to exist. In 1848 Ireland was in rebellion, in 1858 the Fenian organization was founded, in 1867 Ireland was in rebellion again.

What, it may fairly be asked, were English statesmen doing all the time from 1841 to 1868, while Irish difficulties were accumulating, while "the root and occasions of new troubles" were springing up?

From 1841 to 1868 England had ten Administrations. The Prime Ministers were—Sir Robert Peel, Lord John Russell, Lord Derby, Lord Aberdeen, Lord Palmerston, Lord Derby again, Lord Palmerston again, Earl Russell, Lord Derby again, Mr. Disraeli. It would be impossible to point to a single act of any one of these statesmen showing that he understood or, understanding, had the

inclination or capacity to grapple with the Irish question. Mr. Disraeli understood it, but did not care about it. Sir Robert Peel cared about it, but did not understand it.

Lord Palmerston thought it beneath contempt. Lord John Russell partly understood it, but wholly gave up the attempt to settle it. Lord Derby partly understood and at one time partly attended to it.

Lord Aberdeen knew nothing whatever about it.

In 1844 Mr. Disraeli stated the Irish question almost in its entirety with great accuracy. He said—

"I want to see a public man come forward and say what the Irish question is. One says it is a physical question; another a spiritual. Now it is the absence of the aristocracy; now the absence of railways. It is the Pope one day and potatoes the next. . . . A dense population in extreme distress inhabit an island where there is an Established Church which is not their Church; and a territorial aristocracy, the richest of whom live in a distant capital. Thus they have a starving population, an absentee aristocracy, an alien Church, and in addition the weakest Executive in the world."

He continued—

"Well, what then would hon. gentlemen say if they were reading of a country in that position? They would say at once, 'The remedy is revolution.' But the Irish could not have a revolution; and why? Because Ireland is connected with another and a more powerful country. Then what is the consequence? The connection with England became the cause of the present state of Ireland. If the connection

with England prevented a revolution, and a revolution was the only remedy, England logically is in the odious position of being the cause of all the misery of Ireland. What, then, is the duty of an English Minister? To effect by his policy all those changes which a revolution would do by force. That is the Irish question in its integrity.*

These were statesmanlike words, but they were never followed by statesmanlike deeds.

Sir Robert Peel's plan for the settlement of the Irish question was the somewhat conflicting one of a grant to Maynooth, and the Queen's University. Both grant and university are now gone, and the great majority of the people—clergy and laity, Protestants and Catholic—regret neither the one nor the other.

Lord Derby understood one Irish question better than any of his contemporaries—viz. the question of the land; and his Government in 1852 introduced a statesmanlike scheme for its settlement.† This scheme was supported by the Irish popular representatives, but defeated by the landowners and the House of Lords.

After this failure Lord Derby gave up all attempts to settle the Irish question.

Lord John Russell, mindful that the Melbourne Ministry had been wrecked on their Irish policy, steered as clear as he possibly could of all Irish questions for the remainder of his public life. But

* House of Commons, February 16, 1844.

† Mr. Napier's Bill, for which see *ante*, p. 25.

to Lord Palmerston belongs the distinction of having firmly "put down his foot," and consistently adopted a policy of no concession to Ireland.

Alone among the statesmen who occupied a prominent position in English politics between 1841 and 1868, Mr. Bright stood forward as the earnest advocate of the policy of concession and political incorporation inaugurated by William III., taken up by Lord Melbourne, and abandoned by Lord Melbourne's successors. But Mr. Bright remained below the gangway from 1843 to 1869. And what came of this abandonment of the "Williamite-Melbourne policy;" what came of the system of government maintained in Ireland from the fall of the Melbourne Ministry to the accession of Mr. Gladstone to power? The question may be answered in three words—the Fenian movement. Thomas Drummond left Ireland in 1840 tranquil and loyal; Mr. Gladstone found it in 1868 in full sympathy with rebellion.

III. Mr. Gladstone.

Mr. Gladstone sat in the House of Commons in the days of the Melbourne Ministry; and, it is needless to say, did not at that time support the claims of the Irish Popular Party.

He was, however, neither a bitter, selfish, nor partisan opponent of those claims. His speeches had nothing in them of the Ascendency ring; nothing of that "political Protestantism" which O'Connell so frequently, so powerfully, and so justly denounced. Upon the question of the Church, which was the great question of the period, he took up a position widely different from that held by any of his party. They defended the Irish Establishment on political, he on religious, grounds. Their arguments were the arguments of the Lords Justices* who believed that all the "property" of the country should be in the hands of the Protestants; that all distinctions, rights, privileges—political, social, religious—should be vested in the class that represented what were called "English interests." But to Mr. Gladstone the Irish Church question was not a question of "property" or of "English interests." It was a question of religious truth.

The Ascendency regarded the Church as a political engine. Mr. Gladstone regarded it as a religious institution. To the Ascendency the religion of the masses of the people was a matter of indifference so long as their own power remained supreme. To Mr. Gladstone it was a matter of anxious moment apart from all personal or national considerations.

* *Ante*, p. 36.

The Ascendency supported the Church, ostensibly because it was good for England, really because it was good for themselves. Mr. Gladstone supported it, ostensibly and really because he believed it was good for the Irish people. He desired to see all Ireland Protestant because he believed in Protestantism, and he thought that this end would be achieved through the ministrations of the Protestant Episcopalian Church.

The following extract from his speech on the Tithe Bill of 1836 will put this matter in a clear light:—

"A Church Establishment is maintained either for the sake of its members or its doctrines; for those whom it teaches or for that which it teaches. On the former ground it is not in equity tenable for a moment. Why should any preference be given to me over another fellow-subject, or what claim have I personally to have my religion supported whilst another is disavowed by the State? No claim whatever in respect to myself. I concur entirely with gentlemen opposite, hostile to an Establishment, that no personal privilege ought in such a matter to be allowed. But if, on the contrary, I believe, as the great bulk of the British Legislature does believe, that the doctrine and system of the Establishment contain and exhibit truth in its purest and most effective form; and if we also believe truth to be good for the people universally—then we have a distinct and immovable ground for the maintenance of an Establishment; but it follows as a matter of course from the principle, that it must be maintained, not on a scale exactly and strictly adjusted to the present number of its own members, but on such a scale that it may also have the means of

offering to others the benefits which it habitually administers to them. Therefore we wish to see the Establishment in Ireland upheld; not for the sake of the Protestants, but of the people at large, that the Ministers may be enabled to use the influences of their station, of kindly offices and neighbourhood, of the various occasions which the daily intercourse and habits of social life present—ay, and I do not hesitate to add of persuasion itself, applied with a zeal tempered by knowledge and discretion, in the propagation of that which is true, and which, being true, is good as well for those who as yet have it not, as for those who have it."

At what time precisely Mr. Gladstone changed his ground on the subject of the Irish Church it may not, perhaps, be so easy to say. But, having regard to the position which he originally took up, and to the facts which were accumulating to prove that the Protestant Establishment in Ireland had hopelessly failed, it is clear that a change of ground was sooner or later inevitable.

His sole argument, practically, in favour of maintaining the Church was that it would make Ireland Protestant. But when it became evident that the Church was not making Ireland Protestant —that, on the contrary, there were reasons for supposing it was helping to make her more intensely Catholic—then the basis on which that argument rested was completely cut away.

It is clear, I think, that Mr. Gladstone's mind was, for a time, directed to the Irish difficulty when the Maynooth grant was proposed by Sir

Robert Peel; and we know, as a matter of fact, that in 1847 he refused to pledge himself to stand by the Irish Church—a position from which he never afterwards departed. But many things intervened in the mean time to draw off his attention from the subject, and for several years Irish questions did not seem to occupy any special place in his thoughts, any more than they did in the thoughts of other English Ministers. However, between 1865 and 1868 he returned to the question; and from that time to our own he has given more consideration to the affairs of Ireland than any statesman, with a single exception,* since the days of Lord Melbourne—has done more for Ireland than any statesman since the conquest of the country by William III. Whatever Mr. Gladstone's opponents or critics may say, one fact they are bound to admit—viz. that at least he had an Irish policy. Of how many Englishmen who were responsible for the government of Ireland since the time of Oliver Cromwell can the same thing be said? Oliver had a policy—brutal, but at all events intelligible and rational; and intelligible and rational because in the thinly populated condition of Ireland at the time it was possible of success, could a succession of Cromwells have been produced.

William III. had a policy — magnanimous,

* Mr. Bright.

humane, just. But the men who passed the Penal Laws, and enforced and relaxed them by fits and starts, had no policy. The men who at one time plundered Irish papists and at another admitted them within the pale of the Constitution; who allowed Catholics to hold landed property and excluded them from the franchise; who admitted them to the franchise and excluded them from Parliament; who admitted them to Parliament and excluded them from positions of authority in the State—had no policy. The founder of the national system of education, the authors of the Maynooth grant and the Queen's University, of the Encumbered Estates Act, "Cardwell's Land Act," the Intermediate Education Act, and the Royal University, had in reality no Irish policy; the men who sent Drummond to Ireland, and the author of the Church Act and of the Land Acts of 1870 and 1881. had. These looked at the Irish question as a whole; their predecessors did not. The latter legislated to get rid of temporary difficulties, and then dropped the subject of Ireland. The former legislated to remove permanent evils, and persevered in the work. It was Mr. Bright, I think, who once said that there ought to be an "Irish session." Lord Melbourne's Parliament was an Irish Parliament, and so was Mr. Gladstone's of 1868–1874. Mr. Gladstone came into office on an Irish issue; he went out on an

Irish issue;* and on his resumption of office in 1881 he took up the Irish question again.

The Irish question in 1868 was an "alien Church," a vicious land system, unsatisfied Catholic claims respecting education, a grossly inadequate Parliamentary franchise, and "the weakest Executive in the world." Mr. Gladstone, I repeat, did not take this question up by halves, he took it up as a whole; he tried to deal with it as a whole. He destroyed the Church, reformed the land laws, and was driven from office in consequence of an attempt to deal with the subject of education. Owing in great measure to his exertions, begun in 1868 and resumed in 1881, the Irish question is no longer what it was twenty years ago. The Church is gone, the land question almost entirely disposed of, the franchise completely settled, and education in a fair way of settlement.

What, then, is the Irish question of to-day? for Ireland still remains the difficulty and, it may be, the danger of the Empire. An island governed by British laws, and within half a day's journey of the British capital, contains a population of 5,000,000, the great majority of which are disaffected to the Legislative Union and bound together by an

* Mr. Gladstone was defeated on the Irish University Bill in March, 1873, and tendered his resignation. But Mr. Disraeli refused to take office, whereupon Mr. Gladstone carried on the government for some time longer and then dissolved.

organization of vast dimensions and immense power; a disorganized aristocracy loyal to the Union but without political influence or *prestige;* a temporizing middle class partly in favour of the establishment of a system of Irish autonomy; a discontented peasantry constituting the bone and sinew of Ireland, all of whom hate the Union or the English connection altogether; an intelligent and insufficiently employed artisan class of "rebels," and an "Executive" which still continues to be "the weakest in the world;"—this is the Irish question of the present day in its "integrity." The statesman who can settle it, who can remove the causes of disturbance and the strife of classes, allay agitation, and help to bring about that state of political and social calm which Ireland has never enjoyed, and without which her people can never grow prosperous, will make a suffering nation happy, and a divided empire strong.

But the question of the hour is, By what means can these ends be attained? How can Ireland be made happy and loyal? How can the Empire be strengthened in its only weak part? To my mind this question admits of but one answer: by the establishment of a Parliament in Dublin on such conditions as will secure the unity of the Empire, and will, consistently with that unity, give to Irishmen the fullest control of Irish affairs. In a celebrated pamphlet, written in 1798 by Mr.

Secretary Cooke,* under the inspiration, it was supposed, of Mr. Pitt, the author declares that, if the "happiness" of the people of Ireland could "best be obtained by a Federal or an Incorporate Union, such an union ought to be the national object." "An Incorporate Union" has been tried, and has proved a signal failure. It was the hope of Mr. Pitt that his great measure would "calm the disunions, allay the discontents, and dissipate the jealousies which had unfortunately existed." It was the fear of Sheridan that this measure "augured not tranquillity, but disquietude; not prosperity, but calamity; not the suppression of treason, but the extension and increase of plots to multiply and ensanguine its horrors." It is scarcely necessary to say the fears of the brilliant Irishman, not the hopes of the great English statesman, have been realized. After a trial of eighty-six years, the "Incorporate Union" has resulted in the return of eighty-six "Irish rebels" to the Imperial Parliament, in the springing up at the other side of the Atlantic of an Irish nation, inspired by feelings of the deadliest hostility to England, in the existence of plots and murder societies which are a danger to the public peace and a disgrace to our civilization, in the presence in Ireland itself of nearly four millions of disaffected subjects. Assuredly, in the face of these facts, an "Incorporate Union" should no longer be "the national object."

* "Arguments for and against an Union."

*THE IRISH PARTY AND THE POLITICAL SITUATION FIFTY YEARS AGO.**

HISTORY ever repeats itself. Fifty years ago English parties found themselves in the presence of difficulties similar to those by which they are confronted to-day.

The General Election of 1835 left O'Connell master of the situation, as the General Election of 1885 leaves Mr. Parnell. Then, England returned 212, Ireland 39, and Scotland 13 Tories, making a total of 264 members who were prepared to support the Government of Sir Robert Peel. On the other side, England returned 99 Whigs, 189 Radicals and Independents; Scotland, 10 Whigs, 30 Radicals and Independents; Ireland, 22 Whigs, acting mainly with O'Connell, and 44 Repealers acting directly under him; thus making a total altogether of 394 anti-Ministerialists. But between the members of the Opposition so formed there was no cohesion. O'Connell

* *Freeman's Journal*, December 17, 1885.

stood aside from Whigs, Tories, and Radicals, awaiting the arrangement of the terms on which his alliance was to be secured. Of the 219 Radicals and Independents elected at the polls only 140 could be relied on to support a Whig Administration, and the result was that, so far as England and Scotland were concerned, the Tories had a working majority of 15. Thus:—

Tories	264
Whig-Radical coalition	249
Tory majority	15
Irish in reserve	66

Here was "an extraordinary state of parties," to use the language of the *Edinburgh Review;* "an awful situation," to adopt the phraseology of the *Times.* O'Connell would be "real Prime Minister," roared the Thunderer of Printing-house Square, if Whigs and Tories did not loyally unite to put him down.

One thing, in the opinion of the *Times*, was clear—no English party ought to touch "the Repeal rebel," "the unprincipled ruffian," "the demon of malignity and anarchy, in whose hands the people of Ireland had been forced to place the destinies of their wretched country."

"We ask the people of Ireland," implored the great organ of English public opinion—referring to the "terrorism" which O'Connell had exercised

in securing the return of his candidates—"We ask the people of Ireland, will they submit to an inquisitorial and revengeful tyranny like this? If, from the dread of murder or famine, they dare not raise a cry against such brutal degradation—if they will vote thus with the knife at their throats for the Parliamentary tools and lackeys of such a miscreant—we appeal from them to the people of England, and to the Ministers, whether they will suffer their fellow-subjects of the sister island to be tormented by this system of organized ruffianism avowed by an Irish Catholic lawyer, and furtively promoted by confederates in priestly garb. . . . We hope there will be no truckling to O'Connell or his gang; there will be no bullying by O'Connell; there will be no stupid and puerile attempt to govern Ireland through the co-operation or instrumentality of men who profess the first object of their lives to be the separation of the two countries, and the breaking-up of the Empire." * The formation of a Whig Ministry, the *Times* urged, was out of the question without O'Connell's support, and would any English party descend to the degradation of calling in a gang of Irish rebels to enable them to carry on the government of the British Empire? Assuredly not. Then the only course open to all loyal Englishmen was to stand by Sir Robert Peel, and to enable that

* January 2, 1835.

great statesman to present a formidable front to the common enemy.

"We have already pointed out," the *Times* said, "the desperate condition of any English party which first leans for support on the Irish Repeal rebel and his gang, and next has to pay them the wages of their service by taking them into partnership. But the embarrassments of the Whigs are thickening with every post. . . . They durst not refuse this unprincipled ruffian whatever office he chose to lay his hand on. They could not carry on the Government without the aid of O'Connell and his crew." * But, despite the admonitions of the *Times*, it became clearer and clearer day by day that the Whigs did not mean to unite with the Tories against O'Connell; on the contrary, that there was a terrible danger of their uniting with O'Connell against the Tories. The result of such a union would be that the Tory majority of 15 would at once disappear, and that with the 66 Irish votes, more or less commanded by O'Connell, the Whigs would come into office with a majority of 51. Thus:—

Whig-Radical-Irish coalition	317
Tories	266
Whig majority	51
Independents fluctuating between Whigs and Tories	79

* February 13, 1835.

As the probability of a Whig-Irish alliance became more evident, the *Times* became more urgent in appealing to loyal Englishmen of all parties to save the country. "We ourselves," it wrote, "can see nothing but clouds and darkness on the horizon, let the most prudent management be resorted to by the most virtuous counsellors. What then must be our forebodings with O'Connell and his associates lying in wait for the Monarchy on the very footstool of the Throne?" Again, "O'Connell and his fifty votes will hold the fate of the British Cabinet, whether its chiefs be Lord Grey, Lord Melbourne, Mr. Hume, Mr. Ward, Sir S. Whalley, or Lord John Russell, at his own precarious mercy; and too late it will be deplored that a miserable faction of place-hunters have been suffered by the people of this country to usurp the powers of the State, that they may destroy the principles of our Protestant monarchical Constitution, and sever the whole framework of the Empire."* And the great journal lugubriously added, "If the right of petition be vigorously acted on, the Monarchy may yet be saved."† But the "Monarchy," it seems, was not to be saved. The Whigs and O'Connell were to unite, and upon terms at which the *Times* stood aghast.

"First," it said, "he demands an amendment of

* April 7, 1835. † Ibid.

the Irish Reform Act. Under that Act he now returns only 62 members to Parliament; he did not specify how many more he desires to return. . . . Next, he demands a sweeping Corporate Reform. . . . Lastly, he will have the surplus revenues of the Established Church in Ireland devoted to purposes of education and charity." But this was not all. "Listen, Englishmen, to the proposals of the enemy of your name and nation.* He insists that the law officers of the Crown in Ireland shall be nominated by *him*, O'Connell!! He insists that he shall have a veto on the appointment of the Viceroy." † These were outrageous terms, thought the *Times*, and on accepting them the Whigs were paving the way to the downfall of the Empire.

On February 19 Parliament met, and the public mind was much exercised as to what Sir Robert Peel would do. Would he hold office until turned out on a vote of confidence, or resign at once? This matter was soon decided. Sir Robert Peel showed every disposition to stand to his guns, and await the advance of the enemy. The first trial of strength took place on the election of the Speaker. The Irish members were opposed to the reappointment of Manners Sutton, who was Speaker in the last Parliament, and they favoured the candidature of Mr. Abercrombie, a

* April 27, 1835. † April 13, 1835.

Scotch member, who had habitually voted with them on Irish questions.

The *Times* was horrified at the prospect of Mr. Abercrombie allowing himself to be appointed Speaker by the aid of the Irish.

"Let any one," it said, "look at the condition in which poor Mr. Abercrombie with 'his principle' will stand when O'Connell is whipping up the devils to support him in his unblessed attempt to place himself in the Chair. Shame will overwhelm him at the sight of such allies." *

The day of battle came on February 19, 1835. Sutton was put up by the Tories, Abercrombie by the Whigs. After an animated debate the House divided on the question, with the following result:—

For Abercrombie.		For Sutton.	
English	224	English	247
Scotch	31	Scotch	18
Irish (O'Connellites mainly)	61	Irish (Ascendency) ...	41
	316		306

Thus the election of Abercrombie was secured by the Irish (O'Connellite) vote, there being a majority of English, Scotch, and Irish Ascendency members in favour of Sutton. But Peel refused to accept this decision as a vote of want of confidence, and continued to hold office.

* February 14, 1835.

On February 24 the Whigs returned to the charge, when Lord Morpeth moved an amendment to the Address, which was carried against Ministers by a majority of 309 to 302. But Peel still refused to resign.

In those days the question of the Church occupied a position similar to that now filled by the question of Home Rule. It was the question of the hour, and Peel resolved to make a bold stroke, and, avoiding all side issues, to go straight for it. The fate of parties depended on the Irish vote, and the Irish vote depended on the most liberal plan of Church reform. To give battle on this ground Sir Robert Peel marshalled his battalions.

On March 20 Sir Henry Hardinge, the Irish Secretary, brought forward the Tory scheme for the settlement of the burning question of the Church. It consisted in a proposal to convert tithes into a rent-charge of £75 per cent. of the tithe. But Lord John Russell capped this proposal on March 30 by an amendment declaring—"That the surplus revenues of the Established Church should be applied in some way by which the moral and religious improvement of the people of Ireland might be advanced." The debate on this amendment lasted four days, and resulted in the defeat of the Government by a majority of 322 to 289. Still Peel clung to office.

On April 3 Russell renewed his attack, and

moved—"That the surplus revenues of the Established Church in Ireland ought to be locally applied to the general education of all classes of Christians in Ireland." Again the Government was defeated (by a majority of 178 to 140), and again Peel refused to resign. At length, on April 7, Russell fired his last shot, and drove the Tory chief from the Treasury Bench. He proposed and carried by a majority of 285 to 258—"That it is the opinion of this House that no measure upon the subject of tithes in Ireland can lead to a satisfactory and final adjustment which does not embody the principle of the foregoing resolution."* Peel then resigned, and a strong Whig Administration under Lord Melbourne was formed.

Such was the manner in which the difficulties of the situation fifty years ago were removed. How will the difficulties of to-day be dealt with? Will Lord Salisbury hold office until drawn from it by an adverse vote of the House of Commons? And how will that vote be challenged? By the nomination of a new Speaker? By an amendment to the Address? By going straight at the question of Home Rule? Will Ministers attempt to settle this question by proposing the extension of Local Government, and the establishment of County Boards in Ireland? And will any statesman on

* Of April 3.

the Opposition benches meet this proposal by an amendment declaring—"That it is the opinion of this House that no measure upon the subject of Local Government in Ireland can lead to a satisfactory adjustment which does not embody the principle of Legislative Independence"?

*THE LICHFIELD HOUSE COMPACT.**

"THERE came from the Reform Act onward, for a period of about ten years, a steady endeavour—I believe the first ever made—to govern Ireland by the assistance, in a great degree, of a man famous in his day, perhaps now in a large degree forgotten — Lieutenant Thomas Drummond — to govern Ireland on principles of equality instead of principles of gross preference and injustice, poisoned with religious hatred."† In these words Mr. Gladstone has recently referred to the system of government established in Ireland in 1835 as a result of the alliance entered into between O'Connell and Lord Melbourne, and which is generally known by the name of the "Lichfield House Compact." The history of this "Compact"—how it was formed, how it was worked, how it ended—is among the most important and interesting chapters in the story of our country.

* *Freeman's Journal*, January 29, 1886.

† Speech at Edinburgh, November 24, 1885.

After the general election of 1834, O'Connell, as we have already pointed out,* was left master of the situation. No English party could form a staple Government without his support. Sir Robert Peel still held the reins of office. The great leaders of the Opposition were Lord Melbourne, Lord John Russell, Lord Grey, and Lord Althorp. Of these, O'Connell had no faith in Lord Grey and the "moderate" Whigs. He had helped the Whigs, helped Lord Grey, as he often said, to carry the English Reform Act of 1832, and the return made by the Grey Ministry for his services was the "brutal"—to use the great Agitator's own language—Coercion Act of 1833. From the moment that Act became law O'Connell used all his energies to drive Grey from power. "I have often," he said in 1835, "discussed the affairs of Ireland with Lord Melbourne and Lord John Russell, and I have found that I was able to make some impression on them. But when I would see them again, about a week after our interview, I found that all I had said was forgotten. 'Has Stanley or Grey been talking to you since our conversation?' I once asked Lord John Russell. 'Yes,' said he. 'Just so,' I replied; 'all the good I do Stanley or Grey undoes;' and I resolved that Grey and Stanley should not sit in the next Liberal Government; and they don't." How it was that O'Con-

* *Ante*, p. 63.

nell kept his resolution to oust Grey and Stanley has an important bearing on the history of the Lichfield House Compact. After the Coercion Act of 1833, the great Agitator set himself two tasks—(1) to smash the Grey Ministry, (2) to build up a Ministry from which Grey and Stanley should be excluded. The first object he effected by keeping Ireland in a state of continued disorder, and by incessantly attacking the Ministers in the House of Commons and out of it. In those days the great Irish question was Tithes. From 1830 to 1833 the tithe war was waged. In 1833 O'Connell asked the Grey Ministry to abolish tithes, but they refused his demand, and passed a Coercion Act instead. From 1833 to 1834 the tithe war was carried on with unabated fierceness, despite the Coercion Act. The country remained in a terrible state of disorder, and O'Connell, while always denouncing agrarian outrages and murders, stood by the tithe resisters, who invariably fought in the open against soldiers and police. A great weapon of the tithe agitators was exclusive dealing, and exclusive dealing O'Connell encouraged to the fullest extent. While the people thus carried on the tithe war, O'Connell constantly appeared upon the scene and delivered some of those powerful harangues which set the country in a blaze. "I am not a man to recommend physical force," he said on one occasion; "but this I say, that when the Coercion Act

ceases to exist, my heart's blood will be on the bayonet of the man who shall endeavour to resuscitate it." And again, "Ireland will suffer the quiet of the grave, or the tranquillity of freedom." Immediately after the passing of the Coercion Act he wrote to Barrett,* "The die is cast; we must now go for Repeal. Warn the atrocious Whiteboys that they have been playing the game of the enemy. Europe is threatened with war; that is one fact. We are 8,000,000; that is another fact. Tithes must be abolished. Ireland never will and never ought to be tranquil until they are." "I will," he declared, in reply to an attack made upon him by the *Times*, "enforce exclusive dealing in every part of Ireland where I deem it necessary," adding, "no violence, for over their tea and tracts the Orange faction would delight to shed your blood." "I say," he asserted, after a fierce encounter between military, police, and peasants, in which the latter were shot down, "I assert, as a constitutional lawyer, that Parson Gavin was justified by no law in entering James Blake's fields to survey or estimate the growing crops. I say he and the magistrates were trespassers, and that James Blake was well within his right in resisting them."

For this speech he was violently assailed by the English Press. "O'Connell must be put down,"

* Editor of the *Dublin Evening Post.*

said the *Guardian*, "or he puts down the Government." "Public opinion in England," said the *Courier*, "backed by a large and powerful party in Ireland, will put the tyrant and demagogue to flight." "The reckless agitator," said the *Globe*, "must be effectually encountered"—and so forth. But O'Connell held his ground, and urged the people to resist the payment of tithes. He was violent in the country, he was violent in the House; but his attacks were directed mainly against Stanley and Grey.

About May, 1834, there were rumours that serious differences existed in the Cabinet on the subject of Ireland. Lord John Russell, it was said, was in favour of bringing in a Tithes Bill, which should contain a clause providing for the appropriation of the surplus revenues of the Protestant State Church to purposes of general utility—a proposal which Stanley and Grey were supposed strongly to resent. At the meeting of the House on May 6, 1834, the Irish members resolved to "feel" the Government, and Sheil asked Stanley whether it was the intention of Ministers "to maintain or abandon the Protestant Church Establishment in Ireland." Stanley answered evasively, conveying, though not directly, the idea that the rumour about the differences in the Cabinet and about Lord John Russell's proposals was groundless.

Stanley then sat down, and, without waiting to

be questioned, Lord John Russell sprang to his feet, and said he wished to prevent any misapprehension which his noble friend's words might create. "I say," he declared, "that if the State should find that the revenues of the Church are not appropriated justly to the purposes of religious and moral instruction, it would be the duty of Parliament to consider a different appropriation." This frank and courageous statement produced as profound an impression on the House as would be produced next month* by a declaration from Lord Randolph Churchill to the effect that the Union ought to be repealed. Stanley saw at a glance what mischief had been done, and wrote on a slip of paper to Sir James Graham, "Johnny has upset the coach." Littleton the Irish Secretary, rose after Russell had sat down to explain away Russell's words. But the Irish members were resolved to have the matter fully and fairly out there and then, and Sheil at once asked Lord Althorp, point-blank, if the members of the Cabinet were agreed on the question of the Irish Church. Lord Althorp—"Honest Jack Althorp," as he used to be called, and whose private secretary in those days was Thomas Drummond—answered with characteristic straightforwardness, that they were not. A month later Lord Althorp came down to the House, and proposed that a commission should

* Written in January, 1886.

be appointed to inquire into the state of the Church revenues, and to consider the whole question of the Establishment. Stanley vigorously opposed this resolution, which, however, was carried; whereupon he left the Ministry, taking with him Sir James Graham, the Duke of Richmond, and the Earl of Ripon. Thus was Stanley got rid of, but Grey still remained.

The Church question having been so far disposed of, the next subject which occupied the attention of the Cabinet was the renewal of the Coercion Act of 1833, which had been passed for one year, and which would expire in August, 1834. Here, again, there was a difference of opinion in the Cabinet—Grey wanted to renew the Act in all its rigour; but Brougham did not. Melbourne, Althorp, and Russell agreed with Brougham, but did not wish to oppose the Prime Minister, whose personal influence was considerable. Brougham, however, worked in secret. He communicated privately with Lord Wellesley, the Lord-Lieutenant, and asked if he would be prepared to govern without the more stringent clauses of the Act, and Wellesley (who hated coercion as much as any man) said, "Yes." Thus armed, Brougham suggested that the Chief Secretary (Mr. Littleton) should see O'Connell. Lord Althorp, who was the leader of the House of Commons, and whose personal influence in and out of the House was immense, was consulted on

the point. He consented to an interview between O'Connell and Littleton, but told Littleton to be prudent and circumspect. No one save these four —Brougham, Althorp, Wellesley, and Littleton— were let into the secret.

On June 23 Littleton sent for O'Connell, and the Agitator proceeded immediately to the Irish Office. Littleton was a well-meaning but incapable man. He had great confidence in his own powers, and believed he was quite a match for O'Connell in political *tactique.* "I'll manage Dan," he said, when he was appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland; and he was now to perform this difficult feat. At the time of the interview between the Irish leader and the Irish Secretary an election contest was going on in the county of Wexford. O'Connell had a Repeal candidate in the field to oppose the Whig nominee, and a manifesto in support of the Repealer's candidature was actually in type and about to be published. Littleton opened the conversation by referring to the Wexford election, and told O'Connell that the Irish Executive were opposed to the renewal of the Coercion Act. "If you drop the Coercion Act," said the Agitator, "I'll withdraw the Repeal candidate, and I'll consent to a short Bill for dealing with purely agrarian disturbances." Littleton answered, "All I can say is, that if the Coercion Act be brought in, it

will not be brought in by me." O'Connell took this as decisive, and, on the instant, withdrew the Repeal candidate, and stopped the publication of the manifesto. About the same time the Cabinet met to consider the question of Coercion. Brougham read Wellesley's letter, saying he was prepared to govern without the most objectionable clauses of the Act. "How," shrewdly asked Lord John Russell, "did that letter come to be written? It seems to be an answer to an inquiry." Thus cornered, Brougham admitted that he had on his own responsibility written to the Lord-Lieutenant to ascertain his views. Grey was much incensed at this information—much incensed that Brougham should have attempted to settle the matter over his head—and the Cabinet meeting broke up without any determination having been arrived at. On June 29 the Cabinet met again.* Grey forced his opinion on the majority of the Ministers, and it was decided that the Coercion Act should be renewed. On June 30 Littleton came to O'Connell in a great state of excitement, and said that the Cabinet had decided to renew the Coercion Act. "Well, then," said the Agitator, "you must resign; for after the manner in which you have acted you will otherwise be guilty of practising a deception

* It does not seem clear whether Brougham was "cornered" at this meeting or the previous one; generally, the sources of authority on this subject are unsatisfactory in some matters of detail.

on me." "Oh, say nothing of that to-day," said Littleton; "wait till to-morrow." O'Connell, who was one of the most conciliatory of men when he thought conciliation useful, and one of the most inexorable when he believed it to be useless, waited. The morrow, July 1, came; and, at six p.m., Lord Grey rose in the House of Lords to propose the renewal of the Coercion Act. O'Connell still was patient. He waited until he had learned the full particulars of the measure, and had satisfied himself that it would be carried through Parliament. He then, on July 3, came down to the House, and told the whole story of his negotiations with Littleton. There was a great scene. Lord Grey was terribly perplexed, but he resolved to press forward with the Bill, and to sacrifice Littleton. On July 4 Littleton resigned. On the 7th the Lords went into committee on the Bill, and on the same night Lord Althorp, whose determination was now fixed, wrote to Grey tendering his resignation. Grey was now hopelessly embarrassed. On July 8 he moved the adjournment of the House for four and twenty hours, and on the 9th flung up the reins of office. Thus was the first Reform Ministry smashed, and O'Connell triumphant.

On July 16 the first Melbourne Administration was formed; it lasted until the following November, and in December Sir Robert Peel came into office.

In the same month Parliament was dissolved, the result of the election being, as we have said, that O'Connell became master of the situation—holding the balance between the two great English parties. In these circumstances, Lord Melbourne and Lord John Russell resolved to form an alliance with O'Connell, and this alliance was entered into at Lichfield House, St. James's Square, in the spring of 1835. The terms of the alliance were alike honourable to Lord Melbourne and O'Connell. O'Connell proved himself willing to conciliate English public opinion, if the English people would allow him ; and Lord Melbourne showed a sincere desire to remove the grievances which at the moment pressed most heavily on the Irish nation. "We cannot," he said in effect to O'Connell, "repeal the Union, but short of that we are prepared to do justice to Ireland." O'Connell in effect answered, "I am ready to suspend the demand for Repeal, and to give the Union a fair trial, provided you abolish tithes, appropriate the surplus revenues of the Established Church to purposes of general utility, reform the corporations, extend the Parliamentary franchise, and establish a system of government in Ireland which shall be in harmony with the public opinion of the country." To this Lord Melbourne practically agreed. Such was the Lichfield House Compact.

How was it kept? The first subject to which

the Ministry turned their attention was the constitution of the Irish Executive; and here Lord Melbourne, in defiance of the *Times* and other organs of English public opinion, showed an unalterable determination to carry out his part of the agreement. He put himself in communication with O'Connell, and in a great degree deferred to his views. The first office to be filled was that of the Lord-Lieutenant. Lord Mulgrave was named for the post. He was an amiable nobleman, well disposed towards Ireland, but possessing no capacity for government. He, however, had the good sense to follow the advice of the wise and able men who were associated with him in the Irish Administration. The Chief Secretary was Lord Morpeth, afterwards better known as Lord Carlisle —an amiable, well-meaning, commonplace gentleman. These two appointments were made by Lord Melbourne, and approved by O'Connell; the next two were practically made by O'Connell and approved by Lord Melbourne. These were the Attorney- and Solicitor-Generalship. Mr. Perrin was named for the first office, Mr. Michael O'Loghlen for the second. Both were among the most eminent members of the Bar; the one was a Protestant, the other a Catholic. Ireland has never had two law officers more devoted to her interests than were these men. The next appointment—the most important of all—was partly

O'Connell's, partly Perrin's, and, perhaps, partly Earl Spencer's.* O'Connell declared that there should be a new Under-Secretary at Dublin Castle. Perrin was consulted on the point. He agreed with O'Connell. "The Under-Secretary, my lord," he said to Lord Mulgrave, "will be your right eye, and if we have to spend our time plucking old beams out of it, your government will not go straight." * This settled the matter; and Thomas Drummond, who had been Private Secretary to Earl Spencer, was appointed to the post. Of all the appointments made by Lord Melbourne none raised such a storm of dissatisfaction among the Ascendency party. The Tory Press in England, and the Orange Press in Ireland, shrieked with dismay. The Castle officials were horrified, and "might," we are informed, "be seen with unoccupied looks and tottering frames crawling about the scenes of their departed glory." †

The arrival of Drummond in Dublin was thus humorously described by the *Evening Mail:* "His Excellency Daniel O'Connell, Governor and Lieutenant-Governor of that part of the United Kingdom and Ireland called Ireland, arrived in this good city of Dublin yesterday (Sunday), just in time to be too late for last Mass, and immediately proceeded to the work of clearing

* Lord Althorp had at this time become Earl Spencer.
† Torrens. "Melbourne." ‡ McLennan. "Drummond."

from Toryism the seat of his Highness's Government, the Castle. Sir William Gossett has got the turn-out, and is to be replaced by Lieutenant Thomas Drummond, a dandified coxcomb, who is known as the person who worked out the celebrated boundaries in the Reform Bill. How many of our Irish institutions, including the Church, this Sapper-General will consign to Schedule A, time alone can develop. It is said, however, that he is likely to make short work of them."

Drummond was the genius of the Melbourne Administration. He was a strong, just man. He knew Ireland well. He had been engaged as an officer of Engineers between 1824 and 1830 on the Ordnance Survey. Ireland was during those years in a whirl of political excitement. Drummond studied Irish politics, Irish history, Irish character, on the spot. He became deeply interested in the country and its people. Often on the hillsides he would speak to the peasants, and hear their complaints from their own lips. He saw the faults, the virtues, of the peasantry. He sympathized with their sufferings, felt their wrongs, and yearned to come among them, and, by good government, to call forth their best instincts and energies, and to allay that spirit of resentment and vengeance which a century and a half of misrule and oppression had created.

The Lichfield House Compact practically con-

sisted, it will be seen, of two parts—the first relating to the introduction of measures in Parliament for the removal of grievances; the second to the establishment of a just system of government in Ireland. The execution of the first part was entrusted to Lord John Russell, leader of the House of Commons; the execution of the second to the Irish Under-Secretary. We shall see how both men set to work.

Lord John Russell's name is not popular in Ireland, but, to be just, it must be said that the Lord John Russell of the Melbourne Administration was a different man from the Prime Minister of 1846. The first Lord John Russell strove beyond all doubt to carry out the Lichfield House Compact. Two months after the formation of the Ministry he brought forward, through the Irish Secretary, a Bill commuting tithes into a rent-charge at the lowest percentage of tithe hitherto proposed, viz. £68, and containing a clause for the appropriation of the surplus revenues of the Church to the "education of all classes in Ireland." This Bill was carried through the Commons, but thrown out by the Lords, and lost. For every year up to 1838 a Tithe Bill was introduced by the Ministry, carried through the Commons, and thrown out by the Lords. Finally, in 1838, when the Government of Lord Melbourne had come back from the General Election of

1837 with a greatly reduced majority, a Tithe Commutation Act, forced on the Ministry by Sir Robert Peel, raising the percentage of tithe to £75, and containing no appropriation clause, became law. The House of Lords and the English people did not allow Lord Melbourne to keep the Lichfield House Compact, so far as the question of tithes was concerned. And as it was with tithes, so with Municipal Reform. Lord John Russell brought forward a Bill in 1835 for the reform of the corporations on thoroughly liberal lines. It passed through the Commons, but was rejected by the Lords. For nearly five years a constant struggle was maintained between the Government and the Tories over this question, and in the end the Tories won. It was the aim of the Melbourne Ministry to reform all the Irish Corporations, then 68 in number; but Sir Robert Peel again forced his will on Parliament, and succeeded in placing on the Statute-book an Act disfranchising 58 corporations, and granting a niggardly franchise to the rest.

The subject of Parliamentary Reform was not broached at all. The Government exhausted their energies in dealing with the subjects of tithes and Municipal Reform, without, however, being able to carry out their plans.

So much for the part of the Lichfield House Compact which Lord Russell had sought to

execute. Now for the part entrusted to Drummond.

Prior to Drummond's arrival in Ireland a just Irish government was as unknown to the Irish people as the Institutes of Justinian are to a London street arab. For five years previous to his appearance at the Castle, Irish papist peasants had been shot or bayonetted almost month by month for refusing to pay tithes to Protestant parsons. The horrible "battles" of Newtownbarry, Thurles, Kilkenny, Castlepollard, Carrickshock, Doon, Wallstown, Rathkeeran, Carrigtwohill, and Rathcormac had been fought. Although the tithe system was doomed, although British statesmen had said that some measure of reform was needed, yet the Castle sent forth "its black soldiers and its red soldiers" to maintain a discredited and tottering institution. Drummond changed all this. He refused resolutely to allow a single policeman to help in collecting tithe. He took up a strong position, and held it like a soldier and a statesman. He said, in effect, to the Ascendency, who demanded the usual supply of military and police for the purposes of fighting the battles of a Church which did not number a fourth of the population of the country: "It is my duty to maintain law and order. I shall do so. It is not my duty to turn the police and military into tithe-collectors. Collect your tithes as well as you can; I shall

take care that the peace shall not be broken. But your tithe bailiffs and your parsons shall have no police or military escort from me." This was a shocking announcement to men who looked upon the British army in Ireland as entirely their own.

Drummond was assailed by the Press, questions were asked about him in Parliament, debates were raised about the government of Ireland; but the intrepid Scotchman remained as firm as a rock. When his day's work at the Castle was over, he spent the night in supplying Morpeth and Mulgrave with materials for discussions in Parliament. Finding that the Under-Secretary was inexorable, the Ascendency formed an organization practically to overawe the Executive. An ingenious Orange lawyer discovered an obsolete process known by the name of "writs of rebellion," by which certain "Commissioners of Rebellion" were called into existence, and these men, on presenting their writs, were authorized to have a police force placed at their disposal. "If," the new organization argued, "we can only get the Courts to grant us the writs, we shall have the Under-Secretary on the hip." In this crisis Drummond, in the first instance, engaged the services of Perrin and O'Loghlen; and they manfully fought the popular battle in the law courts, resolutely resisting the granting of the writs. But the Orange judges of the day decided

in favour of the Orange organization, and the writs were granted. At this stage, the immense services of O'Connell came into play. He raised the whole question of the writs of rebellion in Parliament, denounced the judges, and told the House how old Baron Smith, who had not for some time attended the court on ordinary business, came down on this occasion "to uphold an illegal and inequitable jurisdiction." Sheil read an opinion of the Chief Baron of the Exchequer, given when his lordship was Attorney-General, and in which he took precisely the same view of the duties of the police as Drummond had now taken. Under the cover of O'Connell's guns, and of the ridicule which he had thrown over the proceedings of the judges, Drummond firmly held his ground, and told the Ascendency that, despite the "writs," tithe bailiffs should not obtain a police escort from him to collect tithes or serve notices. But the Orange organization resolved to put the Under-Secretary to the test. A "Commissioner of Rebellion" was despatched, with plenary powers, to the County Kilkenny to serve tithe notices. He called at the police station, and demanded an escort. To his amazement the inspector informed him that he could not have one. "What?" said the Orange emissary, "but I am a Commissioner of Rebellion." "I know nothing about that," replied the inspector. "I have received no orders about

you, and you cannot have an escort." The commissioner flew back to Dublin. Drummond was at once applied to for an explanation. He simply replied—entirely ignoring the writs of rebellion—that he adhered to his former views. He would keep the peace; but not make the police tithe-collectors. He would prevent riots; but not be taught his duties by Commissioners of Rebellion. It was entirely for him to judge when the presence of the police was necessary; when not. Under these circumstances the commissioners roved about the country on their own responsibility. Drummond watched them. Wherever he saw a likelihood of a breach of the peace he had a police force massed close at hand, but identified in no way with the Commissioners any more than with the peasants; and it is a remarkable testimony to the genius of this remarkable man that never while he was in Ireland was a Commissioner of Rebellion or a tithe bailiff injured; neither did peasants nor police come once into collision. Before he came, the life of a tithe bailiff was not worth a day's purchase, and police and peasants were incessantly at war. Drummond kept the peace pending the amendment of the law. That the law was not effectually amended was not his fault.

As the Under-Secretary managed with respect to tithes, so he managed with respect to all other matters. He was just, and he feared not. With

one hand he put down the riotous Orange assemblies, and with the other the disgraceful faction fights which his predecessors could not prevent.

He hanged agrarian murderers, and told landlords that "property had its duties as well as its rights." He declined to govern by virtue of Coercion Acts. He held daily levees at the Castle to which every man was admitted to state his complaints and wants. He would himself examine the "informers" who used to trade in falsehood and deceive the magistrates, often willing dupes. He would prove those men to be liars, and in so doing would teach the police to be careful in preparing their reports. Drummond had the faculty—possessed by few English officials in Ireland—of getting at the truth about the country, and he had the courage, having got at the truth, to do what was right. He sought information from all sources, placed himself in friendly communication with the popular leaders, formed schemes for the development of industry and the employment of labour, put down abuses, stamped out intolerance, and, in fine, presented to the nation the extraordinary spectacle of an English governor who loved Ireland, who was consistently uniformly just, and was resolved to rule, not by force of Coercion Acts and military demonstrations, but by virtue of an honest public opinion, and on principles of common sense and common morality. For five years Drummond,

amid a storm of denunciation and abuse, maintained a just government in Ireland. He carried out to the letter the part of the Lichfield House Compact entrusted to his care, and died in 1840, leaving Ireland tranquil, and beloved by the people whom he served so well.

In 1841 the Melbourne Ministry fell, and Sir Robert Peel came into office.

The Lichfield House Compact had not been kept in its entirety. The remedial measures which O'Connell had demanded were not carried through Parliament, and with the return of a Tory Executive to Dublin Castle the old system of misrule and corruption was revived.

O'Connell had given the Union a fair trial, as he had promised, and the experiment proved that the Imperial Parliament could not pass measures of the simplest justice for Ireland.

In 1841 the Irish leader unfurled the banner of Repeal, and commenced an agitation, the memory and effect of which have never passed away. Prior to 1841 it was possible to make peace with Ireland on the basis of the Union. Peace on that basis is not possible now. "I am prepared," said O'Connell in 1835, "to blot out the Channel." But the English people would not then accept his offer. English statesmen may now be prepared to "blot out the Channel," but the Irish people will not accept the offer. "We must," says the great

English dramatist, "take the current when it serves, or lose our ventures." The "venture" of the Union is lost. It is lost because the English nation would not allow the Lichfield House Compact to be kept.

*COERCION OR REDRESS.**

BETWEEN 1800 and 1841 there was one administration which endeavoured to govern Ireland, even in troubled times, without Coercion. It may be worth while at the present moment to consider what was the result of this experiment.

Sir Robert Peel tells us that from the Union to 1829 Ireland was governed scarcely one year by ordinary law; and from 1829 to 1835 the policy of repression continued in force. It may be asked what were the subjects which remained to excite the public mind after the passing of the Catholic Relief Act in 1829? They were many. The tithes, the Church, the land, the denial of those rights which the Catholic Relief Act was passed to secure, and generally the maladministration of justice.

Between 1830 and 1835 nothing was substantially done to remove the grievances of which the

* Pamphlet written in 1881.

people justly complained in connection with these subjects. In 1831 the Earl of Shrewsbury said in the House of Lords, "It seems to be forgotten that Ireland is an integral part of this Empire, subject to the same benevolent monarch and governed by the same wise and humane legislature." In 1832 a committee was appointed to inquire into the question of tithes. From this committee Catholics were excluded. Out of eighteen witnesses only one Catholic was called. Eight clergymen, four policemen, a secretary to an Ecclesiastical Commission, a registrar to an Ecclesiastical Court, were examined; and upon their evidence a report recommending not remedial but coercive measures was proposed. In 1833 coercive measures were adopted. Lord Grey's celebrated Coercion Bill was passed. In 1834 this Bill was continued in a mitigated form, for one year, from August 1. In its original shape the measure was one of unprecedented severity. This was practically all that had been done between 1829 and 1835 to tranquillize Ireland. But Ireland was not tranquillized. Coercion had scarcely produced—the most that can ever be expected from it—even a temporary lull in the agitated state of Irish affairs. In 1835, notwithstanding the Coercion Acts, the Irish people and their leaders presented as uncompromising an attitude of hostility to the Government of England as had been shown at any time since the Union.

Even the number of outrages, to prevent which measures of repression had been specially adopted, was not, it would seem, materially reduced, whilst political agitation remained as violent as ever. We learn that the total number of offences affecting human life in 1833 was—committals, 826; convictions, 203. In 1835 the number was—committals, 922; convictions, 409. The total number of outrages generally in 1833 was—committals, 17,819; convictions, 11,444. In 1835 the number was—committals, 21,205; convictions, 15,216. The policy of Coercion had failed all along the line.

Lord Melbourne became Prime Minister in April, 1835.* Lord Melbourne knew Ireland well. He had been Irish Secretary in 1827, and then formed the opinion to which he adhered throughout his life—that remedial measures, and remedial measures only, could remove the evils which afflicted that country, and were so discreditable to the Empire. He did not believe in strong measures. In his opinion "they did not give a government strength, for the odium and obloquy which they inevitably brought on the Government weakened it instead of conferring strength upon it." † Accordingly he did not renew the Coercion Act of 1834.

* Lord Melbourne had first come into office in July, 1834, but went out in November of the same year. The Melbourne Ministry may be practically spoken of as commencing their career in April, 1835.

† House of Lords, November 27, 1837.

He was confident that an improved administration of justice, accompanied by the introduction of remedial measures, would do more to tranquillize the country than, to use the words of Mr. Bulwer, applied to Earl Grey's Bill of 1833, "a discharge of musketry and the repeal of trial by jury." In 1835 Lord Melbourne's Ministry introduced a Bill for the settlement of the Tithe Question. It contained, to use the words of Mr. Lecky, Lord John Russell's "famous appropriation clause, affirming that any surplus revenues of the Irish Church not required for the religious wants of Protestants, should be applied to the moral and religious education of the people at large, and that no measure concerning tithes would be satisfactory which did not embody this principle." Surely Mr. Lecky is right in saying that "there never was a more loyal or moderate attempt to remedy a great injustice." The measure passed the Commons, but was rejected by the Lords, and the Tithe Question remained unsettled for three years more. But though Lord Melbourne was unsuccessful in this, and for several other sessions, in every attempt to carry through Parliament remedial measures, he had, nevertheless, won the confidence of the Irish people. He had given proofs of his willingness to serve them, and of his strong determination not to be lightly driven from the paths he had resolved to pursue. He had improved the administration of justice, he had

made appointments at once popular and effective, and he had tried to govern without coercion.

His Irish Viceroy has well stated the lines upon which the Irish policy of Lord Melbourne was framed. "We make no use," says Lord Mulgrave, "of animal magnetism to draw the hearts of a willing and peaceful people to their Sovereign and her Government. We depend entirely on the natural results of cause and effect; we endeavour to induce a reciprocal feeling of confidence between the governors and the governed, and our influence is founded on the reliance of the people in the administration of justice and in the feeling which pervades all the nation, that the English will unite in procuring for Ireland that justice which she has not formerly experienced." *

Lord Melbourne began his government of Ireland by taking the necessary steps to make Catholic Emancipation a reality. Up to his time it had been, to use the words of a Protestant biographer of our day, "an empty name and mocking unreality." All positions of emolument had been reserved for the Ascendency party in the country, as if the Catholic Relief Act had never been passed, and, to use the words of Mr. Lecky, "the people thus found their bitterest enemies in the foremost places." Lord Melbourne resolved to change all this. In a country, three-fourths of the population

* House of Lords, March 7, 1837.

of which were Catholics, he felt that Catholics should not be completely shut out from office; that, at all events, their "bitterest enemies" should not be constantly advanced to the "foremost places." He appointed an Irish Liberal Protestant Chancellor of the Exchequer—Mr. Spring Rice. He appointed as Irish Attorney-General Mr. Perrin, another Liberal Protestant, and as Solicitor-General Mr. (afterwards Sir Michael) O'Loghlen, a Catholic. But the appointments which, perhaps, above all others, recommended the Government of Lord Melbourne to the Irish people were those of Lord Mulgrave as Lord-Lieutenant, and Mr. Thomas Drummond as Under-Secretary at the "Castle." * For the first time, after centuries of unfair treatment, after being "subjected," to use the words of Lord Melbourne himself, "to every form and mode of misrule," Ireland was governed by men who were determined to be just.

In November, 1837, two years after the accession of the Melbourne Ministry to power, the Queen's Speech, on the opening of Parliament, contained the following paragraph referring especially to Ireland:—"The external peace and domestic tranquillity which at present prevail are very favourable for the consideration of such measures of reformation and amendment as may be necessary or expedient, and your attention will naturally be

* *Vide post*, p. 116.

directed to the course of legislation which was interrupted by the necessary dissolution of the last Parliament." *

This paragraph was made the groundwork for an attack on the Ministry. The Opposition, as Lord Melbourne put it, became very "tetchy" over the word "tranquillity," and the accuracy of the statement, as applied to Ireland, was questioned. Lord Roden, the Grand Master of an Orange Lodge, led the attack. He denied that there was "tranquillity" in Ireland, and charged the Ministry with the maintenance of a conspiracy in that country fatal to the integrity of the Empire. They had formed a league with O'Connell, and were, under his influence, carrying on the government of the island in a manner well calculated to undermine British rule and the Protestant religion. Upon Lord Mulgrave fell all the blame. He had revolutionized the country; abandoned the Church; made, at the dictation of O'Connell, Catholic appointments to the exclusion of the loyal Protestant subjects of the Queen; and, in a word, surrendered power into the hands of demagogues and agitators. Such, substantially, was the charge brought by Lord Roden against the Government. Lord Mulgrave replied to this charge, and defended the Irish administration. He first explained what he deemed to be the fair meaning

* Hansard, November 27, 1837.

of the impugned paragraph. "My Lords," he said, "the fair meaning of the paragraph in the speech is that the general domestic tranquillity of Ireland, founded on the absence of all insurrectionary movements and of political agitation, renders the public mind exceedingly favourable for the consideration of measures of a more permanent nature than if, as in other times, it were necessary to act upon the odious necessity of passing a Coercion Bill." Lord Mulgrave then went on to say that Ireland was never so free from political agitation as at the present moment. "Three years ago," he said, "the whole country rang with the cry of repeal. Where is that cry now? From one end of Ireland to another the people are mute upon the subject of that once popular demand—not a murmur is heard in any part of the kingdom; they are perfectly satisfied, perfectly content, with the English Government." Lord Mulgrave, however, admitted that Ireland was not as free from social disturbances as might be desired. "But those disturbances," he added, "might be expected to continue so long as the grievances which gave rise to them remained unredressed." Be it remembered that at this time not even the Tithes Bill, introduced two years before by Lord Melbourne, had yet been passed, owing to the opposition of the Lords. But the tithe was not the only grievance complained of, nor the only source of discontent

and disturbance. There was the old question of the land. "There has always been," said Lord Mulgrave, "in Ireland a combination connected with the competition as to the tenure of land," and "to the neglect of their duties by landlords has at all times been attributed many of the worst evils of Ireland." Referring to certain evictions which had recently taken place, he said, "So complete is the system of persecution and extermination carried on against the Catholic tenantry that many of them are unable to find even a night's shelter;" and then, pointing out the differences which distinguished the relation of landlord and tenant in Ireland, as compared to that relation in England, he wound up his observations upon this branch of the subject by saying that, "whilst in most cases the relation of landlord and tenant in England is one of sympathy without dependence, in Ireland it is too often one of entire dependence without a shadow of sympathy." However, despite the existence of those disturbing causes, Ireland was more free from crime in 1836 and 1837 than it had been for many years before. In support of this statement Lord Mulgrave invited the attention of the House to a return of crimes reported to have been committed in the first nine months of the years 1832, '33, '34, '35, '36, and '37. The number of outrages in the first nine months of 1832 was 7460; in 1833 they receded to 6547; in 1834 they further receded

to 6016; in 1835 they rose to 6645; in 1836 they were reduced to 5384; and in the first nine months of 1837 they fell as low as 3784. It was not, however, upon the results shown by these figures, but rather upon the absence of all political ferment, and the law-abiding disposition generally evinced by the people, that the Lord-Lieutenant relied in defence of his Government, and in justification of the conciliatory policy which had been pursued. Conclusions derived from figures, and from a comparison of the crimes committed at various periods, were not, as Lord Melbourne once said, always satisfactory. But the evidence of loyalty and attachment to law afforded by the existence of political quiet, and the willing submission of the people to, and their confidence in, the administration of justice by the properly constituted tribunals of the land, was proof of a more reassuring and safer kind.

Lord Melbourne followed Lord Mulgrave in the debate, dwelling upon the encouraging condition of things in Ireland. "None of the political symptoms," he said, "which characterized the state of Ireland five or six years ago now exist, and," he added, "there is no apprehension of any breach of the public peace." Under these circumstances, and feeling that Lord Roden's motion was practically an appeal for coercion, the Premier gave it as his opinion that there was no

necessity in the present position of affairs for the adoption of "extraordinary measures." So terminated Lord Roden's first attack on the Government.

The session of 1837–38, unlike the sessions of 1835–36 and 1836–37, happily bore some fruit. The Tithes Commutation Act, substituting a land tax for the old system of tithes, was passed, without, however, the Appropriation Clause, which was rejected by the House of Lords. The Irish Poor Law was also enacted, and some progress was made in educating English public opinion upon the question of Municipal Reform in Ireland, and paving the way for the introduction in Parliament of a measure upon the subject.

The success of Lord Melbourne's legislative efforts (though that success was but partial) increased the confidence of the Irish people in his Government. It also increased the hostility with which from the outset the Government had been regarded by the Ascendency party in Ireland. They felt that the change which he was attempting in the government of the country tended to diminish their influence and endanger their power. Accordingly no effort was left untried by them to drive him from office. The hostility of this party was greatly intensified by the passing of the Tithes Bill in 1838. It was now feared that a more direct and dangerous attack would be made upon the Established Church, and that the very existence

of the institution might be jeopardized. A fresh and more vigorous attempt was therefore essayed in 1839 to oust the Government. The attack was commenced in the Commons by Mr. Shaw, member for the University of Dublin, the charges preferred against the Government being identical with those advanced in 1837 by Lord Roden. Lord Mulgrave had, it was said, persisted in administering the affairs of Ireland in a manner prejudicial to the best interests of Church and State. He had still allowed O'Connell to remain practically supreme in his councils. Important official appointments, upon the trustworthiness of which so much depended, continued to be made chiefly under the influence of the "member for Ireland." The conduct of the Queen's representative was regulated by the advice of the Queen's enemy. The Irish Viceroy was "under the thumb" of the Irish agitator. As a necessary consequence of such a condition of things, great indulgence was shown to political and all other offenders, the principles of law and order were completely relaxed, and anarchy reigned throughout the land. This was practically Mr. Shaw's case. Upon Lord Morpeth, the Irish Secretary, devolved the duty of meeting it. He denied that there was anarchy in Ireland. Quite the contrary. For the last sixty years no corresponding interval of time, he averred, could be fixed on more free from outrages and

violence than that which had elapsed from the accession of the Government to office. There had been a steady decrease in the graver sorts of crime, and an increase in the committals for minor offences. In support of this statement, Lord Morpeth submitted to the House various criminal returns, dealing especially with the occurrences of the past six years. The returns relating to the crimes of murder and manslaughter showed the following results:—

MURDER AND MANSLAUGHTER.

YEAR.	COMMITTALS.	CONVICTIONS.	
1832	620	168	Coercion.
1833	687	274	
1834	575	299	
1835	712	309	
1836	620	292	No Coercion.
1837	519	175	
1838	424	199	

The total number of offences against human life, including the above, was as follows:—

YEAR.	COMMITTALS.	CONVICTIONS.	
1832	772	203	Coercion.
1833	826	303	
1834	729	245	
1835*	922	409	
1836	843	425	No Coercion.
1837	688	263	
1838	575	298	

* Lord Grey's Coercion Act, mitigated, remained in force from July, 1834, to August 1, 1835.

ASSAULTS ON THE POLICE.

YEAR.	COMMITTALS.	CONVICTIONS.*	
1834	125	—	Coercion.
1835	118	—	
1836	119	—	
1837	91	—	No Coercion.
1838	94	—	

The cases of "cutting and maiming" were—in 1835, 1343; in 1838, 944. The number of attacks on houses in 1835, was 818; in 1838, it fell to 352. Of illegal notices there were—in 1835, 755; in 1838, 409. Such were some of the figures given by Lord Morpeth.

But the Irish Secretary frankly conceded in 1839, as Lord Mulgrave had admitted in 1837, that the country was not wholly free from disturbances. He further added that there could not be much hope of a permanent improvement in this respect whilst the Land Question remained unsettled. "All the experience of history," he said, "showed that it was a matter of fact that disputes as to the tenure of land were at the bottom of almost all the graver forms of outrage which infest the soil and blight the social system of Ireland." He then referred to some of the ejectments which had taken place between 1833 and 1838, observing that "these were proceedings which, while the condition of Ireland continued to

* I have not been able to ascertain the numbers of the convictions in these cases.

be what it long had been—nay, more, while human nature was what it was—would beget resistance. The flesh will quiver where the pincers tear." However, the law, such as it was [bad as it was]—had, he said, to be enforced, and the Government did not shrink from their duty in that respect. "The law recognizes no distinction between provocation and non-provocation; the executive will with equal vigilance guard and with equal severity avenge the landlord, whose tenantry, ejected with wantonness and cruelty, pine on the wayside or die in the ditches, as the man whose breast only beats with good-will to all around, only lives for purposes of beneficence, and who is followed to the grave by the tears and regrets of his neighbourhood." It might be necessary, he said, to warn the Irish tenants, as "the Government would not do its duties if it confined the voice of warning entirely to one side." The Chief Secretary concluded his speech by stating, as had been stated by Lord Melbourne in 1837, that there was no necessity for coercion, as "the course of the ordinary tribunals had been so far satisfactory."* Mr. Shaw's motion thus terminated without the results which he and his party desired having been attained. However, the subject was not allowed to drop. On March 21 following Lord Roden moved a vote of censure upon the Government, in consequence of their Irish policy, in the

* Hansard, March 7, 1839, p. 78.

House of Lords. Lord Mulgrave * defended and justified that policy. It had been instrumental in producing political tranquillity, in diminishing crime, and making the people loyal. Before he came to Ireland there was disaffection to the British name and contempt of legal authority. Professor Boyton, a Protestant gentleman who had been commissioned by the Ascendency party to report upon the condition of the country, wrote in 1834, "It would be difficult to give an idea of the state of Ireland, in which there is a total absence of anything like order or security;" and in 1835, before the arrival of Lord Mulgrave, the Judges of Assize had in their charges to the grand juries given a most pitiful description of the state of affairs in the country. Crime prevailed to an alarming extent everywhere, the offences, in some cases, being, it was said, of a "heinous character." At nearly all the assize towns the calendars were referred to as being "remarkably heavy." But in 1836 and 1837 a different condition of things arose. The judges then declared that there was a general decrease of crime as compared to former years, and the "calendars" were declared to be "extremely light." The improvement continued throughout 1838. The assizes for that year were indeed assizes of congratulation. In every town the judges referred in complimentary language to the state of the "calendars." In fact, the words

* Lord Mulgrave became the Marquess of Normanby in 1839.

used by Judge Torrens in Londonderry were capable of very general application. "I feel pleasure," said the learned judge, addressing the Grand Jury, "in again congratulating you, and communicating that the calendar is excessively light; in fact, I find crime decreasing and tranquillity becoming established in the country." At the other end of the country, in Roscommon, Judge Burton said that the county "enjoyed the utmost tranquillity." Finally, Sir Matthew Barrington, the Crown Solicitor for Munster, wrote in 1839, "Upon the whole I consider that this circuit affords the most satisfactory evidence of the improved state of the country, and of an increasing confidence on the part of the people in the administration of justice." Many other facts were cited by Lord Mulgrave to show the salutary effects which had been produced by his administration of Irish affairs. But he failed to convince the Lords that the Government was not deserving of censure. Lord Roden's motion was carried by a majority of 63 to 58. Finding that the Irish policy of the Government had been censured by the Lords, Lord John Russell determined to take the sense of the House of Commons on the subject. Accordingly, on April 15, he moved a vote of confidence in the Government, and by a majority of 318 to 226 the Commons "reversed" the decision of the Peers, and declared that it was "expedient to adhere to the principles of government which

had been of great recent benefit to Ireland." Thus was Lord Mulgrave vindicated, and the Government sustained.

Indeed, the proofs of the good effects produced in Ireland by the conciliatory policy of Lord Melbourne are incontestable. During his government the violent political agitation of former times entirely ceased, crime diminished, and a feeling of friendliness towards England, and a respect for the law—hitherto unknown—began to spring up.

"What I remark in Ireland at present, with the greatest satisfaction," said Sir William Sommerville, in 1839, "is the growing feeling of respect for the law." *

Upon another occasion, the late Earl of Leitrim said, "We have received sufficient evidence since 1835 that stringent enactments are of no use in governing the Irish people." "In no period," he added, "of the history of the country had the people been so amenable to the laws as since 1835."

In 1839 Mr. (afterwards Chief Baron) Pigott stated in the House of Commons that "from 1834 to 1838 homicide had diminished 13 per cent., firing at the person 55 per cent., incendiary fires 17 per cent., stealing cattle 46 per cent., attacks upon houses 63 per cent., killing or maiming cattle 12

* Quoted in Hansard, February 13, 1839.

per cent., levelling houses 65 per cent., illegal meetings 70 per cent." *

Finally, Lord John Russell tells us that a Select Committee, appointed in 1839, "to show that crime had increased, and the security of life and property diminished, ended by proving that crime had diminished, and that the increased security for property was demonstrated by this most conclusive test, that five years' more purchase was given for land in 1839 than had been given for seven years before." †

But Lord Melbourne had, in carrying out his policy of justice and reparation, "harassed" many "interests." By the Tithes Bill, in 1838, he had wounded the Church and vexed the landlords. By the reform of the corporations, in 1840—up to his time notoriously corrupt—he had offended against all the "privileged orders." Finally, by his fair administration of justice, and by his efforts to raise the masses of the people to the level of free citizens, and to extend to them an equal participation in the rights and benefits of a free constitution, he had struck at the very foundations of Ascendency, and incurred the anger of a class whom it was not then possible to touch with impunity.

The Government, however, survived the attacks of Mr. Shaw and Lord Roden in 1839. But it soon became evident that they could not long withstand

* Hansard, April 17, 1839. † Hansard, February 13, 1844

the opposition which now had to be encountered upon all sides. Fresh and continuous assaults were made upon the Government, in and out of Parliament, during 1840 and 1841. In the latter year the Ministry fell, "chiefly," says Mr. Lecky, "by force of the Anti-Irish and Anti-Catholic feeling [which they had aroused by their conciliatory Irish policy] in the country." In 1841 Sir Robert Peel succeeded to office. The old policy of proscription and coercion was revived. The people again saw their "bitterest enemies in the foremost places." Political agitation quickly arose. The "cry of repeal," silent in Lord Melbourne's time, once more "rang throughout the whole country." State prosecutions followed; international enmities were revived; and it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that Ireland has since remained a stranger to the political calm which she experienced under the just administration of Lord Melbourne.

*THOMAS DRUMMOND.**

A POLITICAL SKETCH.

THOMAS DRUMMOND was born in Edinburgh on October 10, 1797. Originally he was intended for the army, and, through the instrumentality of Lord Mulgrave, obtained a cadetship at Woolwich in 1813. In 1815 he entered the Royal Engineers. Endowed with much inventive genius, and evincing a great aptitude for scientific studies,† he quickly attained the rank of lieutenant in that corps, and was generally regarded as a very promising young officer. However, Drummond gradually glided into politics. In 1831, he was, on the suggestion of Lord Brougham, appointed head of the Boundary Commission in connection with the Reform Bill, a position the duties of which he fulfilled with distinction. In 1833 he became private secretary to Lord Althorp, then Chancellor of the Exchequer; and finally, on the accession of the Melbourne Ministry to power

* This sketch was first published in 1881.

† Drummond invented the lime-light, otherwise known as the "Drummond Light," and the heliostat, an instrument for throwing rays of light in a given direction, and thereby facilitating trigonometrical surveys in murky weather.—Webb's "Compendium of Irish Biography," *et passim.*

in 1835, he was sent to Ireland as Under-Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant. The appointment gave much satisfaction. Lord Morpeth was congratulated by the leading organs of English Liberal public opinion on having so able an assistant. "He could not possibly," said the *Examiner*, "have an abler or more respectable coadjutor, nor could the new *régime* have a more efficient supporter, or one more imbued with its spirit." * The *Sun* wrote, "The situation of Under-Secretary in Ireland is no sinecure. It requires incessant vigilance, an unflinching spirit of determination, combined with a temperate and conciliatory nature; and these are qualifications which Lieutenant Drummond is well known to possess. He is not the man to fall asleep over his duties. We look on his present appointment as a great boon to Ireland, as another convincing proof that Ministers are fully in earnest in their endeavours to ameliorate the condition of that distracted country. Lieutenant Drummond's arrival in Ireland will, of course, create a sensation among the Tory hacks of the Castle, some of whom are still to be seen, with unoccupied looks and tottering frames, crawling about the scenes of their departed glory." †

Drummond knew Ireland very well. He had been engaged on the Ordnance Survey in the

* The *Examiner*, as quoted by Mr. McLennan, in his interesting "Memoir of Drummond," p. 184.

† The *Sun*, as quoted by Mr. McLennan, p. 184.

country between 1824 and 1830, and then acquired a thorough knowledge of Irish wants and of the Irish character. "Nearly the whole of 1827, 1828, and 1829 he spent in Ireland, passing the summer months in the country, and the winter months in Dublin. In town and country he must have been a frequent and interested listener to discussions on Irish politics. No one could be in Ireland in those years, when the whole land was profoundly agitated by the final struggles of the Catholics for liberty, without going back on the history of their long enslavement and gradual emancipation." * . . . "Lying on the mountain side, at night, in some savage wild of Antrim or Tyrone, with the stars over his head, and no vestiges of civilization in the neighbourhood, he would 'draw out' the Irish peasants who came to the Engineers' Station from motives of curiosity, or the hope of chance employment. No cockney impudence, no sneer of superiority, was ever visible in Drummond, as he listened to the vague and melancholy narration of some tale of suffering, in which, perhaps, the faults of the complaining narrator were as manifest as those of the local tyrant whom he cursed. . . . Drummond liked to see all [things] with his own eyes. . . . He saw—he studied, and, with his genial sympathy, he *felt* the Irish character and nature. . . . His understanding was singularly clear, and his

* McLennan, "Memoir of Drummond," p. 247.

knowledge of the various subjects to which he had applied it was not merely copious in extent, but precise even in minute details. There was in his mental conformation a decided tendency to the inventive and original, which showed him to be no common man, and preserved him from being merely an individual of acquisitions and nothing more. Having acquired a practical knowledge of the arts by which men are governed in these kingdoms, he went to Ireland in full possession of physical and mental vigour, and with a mind filled with zeal to perform service in that country. He believed that Government might effect wonders in Ireland, and he entered upon his duties with a head teeming with projects of reform, and a heart overflowing with affection for the Irish people." *

Arrived in Ireland, Drummond found himself surrounded with difficulties. In the north he was confronted by Orangeism; in the south, by Ribbonism, Agrarianism, and the notorious Factions; whilst everywhere discontent and disorder prevailed.

Professor Boyton, a Protestant gentleman who had been commissioned to report upon the condition of Ireland in 1834, described what was then the condition of the country thus: "It would be difficult to give an idea of the state of Ireland, in which there is a total absence of anything like

* Madden, "Ireland and its Rulers," p. 3, c. 11.

order or security." * The Marquess of Wellesley, on April 15, 1834, wrote to Lord Melbourne: "A complete system of legislation, with the most prompt, vigorous, and severe executive power—sworn, equipped, and armed for all purposes of savage punishment—is established in almost every district. On this subject I cannot express my opinions more clearly, nor with more force nor justice, than your lordship will find in a letter addressed by Lord Oxmantown, Lord-Lieutenant of King's County, to Mr. Littleton. Lord Oxmantown truly observes that the combination established surpasses the law in vigour, promptitude, and efficacy, and that it is more safe to violate the law than to obey it." †

Such was the condition of things which awaited the new Under-Secretary.

Drummond first directed his attention to the suppression of northern disorders. They were the most formidable at the time, though the disorders of the south were also very serious. "In 1835–36," says Mr. McLennan, "the proportions assumed by Orangeism became exceedingly alarming. It numbered no less than 1500 lodges (with secret oaths and passwords) affiliated with one another under the direction of a Grand Lodge, whose head

* Professor Boyton, as quoted by the Marquess of Normanby. Hansard, March, 1839, p. 992.

† Papers relating to the state of Ireland, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, July 7, 1834, p. 5.

was the Duke of Cumberland. A Commission of Inquiry brought out the fact that there were Orange Lodges even in the army. . . . In 1836 there were 200,000 armed Orangemen in Ireland. . . . They were accustomed to meet in armies of 10,000, 20,000, and even 30,000 at a time. . . ." * These Orangemen were suspected even of treasonable intentions. It was said that they were engaged in a plot, known as the Fairman plot (from the chief agent in it being Colonel Fairman), to alter the succession to the throne. Immediate steps were taken for the suppression of this Orange organization. In accordance with a resolution passed by the House of Commons, an address was presented to the King, urging its dissolution. Orangeism, as a system of affiliated lodges, under the direction of one Grand Central Lodge, was accordingly dissolved, but it still continued to flourish as a system of unaffiliated lodges. Orange processions and armed demonstrations continued. The nature and object of Orangeism remained the same. It was still "the phalanx of the Ascendency party, ready at any moment to assert their domination by force of arms." † The difficulties of dealing with Orangeism continued very great, despite the action of the House of Commons. The territorial magistrates gave the Under-Secretary very little assistance either in suppression of Orangeism or any other disorders.

* McLennan, "Memoir of Drummond," p. 259. † Ibid.

They were apathetic and partial, unwilling and incapable.

One of the most pernicious effects of the coercion system in Ireland has been the utter paralysis of official life produced by it. Coercion is to the Irish Executive as the breath of their nostrils. It is really very difficult to blame the unfortunate officials in Dublin Castle, and the members of the constabulary force, for endeavouring to carry out and always to sustain the system in which they and their predecessors have been brought up. The Irish Executive, from the most insignificant constable in the police force, through all the magistracy and up to the Chief Secretary and the Lord-Lieutenant, have been accustomed to govern "in a state of siege." They cannot even still apparently govern in any other way.* And yet Thomas Drummond governed in very troubled times, with no other weapon but the ordinary law, and his own strong hand to wield it. Thomas Drummond had little sympathy for the Irish

* "Time after time, with good or insufficient grounds, it has been deemed necessary to ask Parliament for additional powers for the Executive in Ireland. The result has been that there is not so much reliance upon the Irish Administration to support the law as upon English help that the law is enforced. The conclusion to which I have been forced to come is due mainly to the fact that the whole official body in Ireland, from the Lord-Lieutenant to the youngest policeman, have been taught too much to rely upon British power."—Mr. Forster, House of Commons, January 7, 1881.

magistracy. He regarded them with distrust and contempt. Hence it was that he wished for the appointment of an efficient staff of Stipendiaries to aid him in the administration of even-handed justice in Ireland. He felt how important it was to inspire the people with confidence in the administration of justice in the local courts, and in the "judges" who presided over them. But, as Mr. McLennan truly says, the people had no confidence in the petty session judges; and Thomas Drummond tells us the reason. "Grossly," he says, "have the local magistrates abused their power in many—in very many—instances; but their wings are clipped, and I hope and believe that there is some chance of justice being better administered soon, and ultimately being well administered. The confidence of the people will be regained; though given to the Government [of Lord Melbourne] now, it is withheld from their local courts, and no wonder." *

I shall give an instance of how Drummond "clipped the wings" of the local magistrates, and dealt with Orangeism. At an election dinner in the north (when party feeling was running high), Colonel Verner, Deputy-Lieutenant of the county of Tyrone, and the representative of the Orangemen of the Empire in the House of Commons, gave as a toast "The battle of the Diamond."

* McLennan, "Memoir of Drummond," p. 278.

The Diamond, it must be understood, is a little village about five miles from Armagh, and is supposed to be the birthplace of Orangeism. A serious conflict between some Catholics and Protestants took place there in 1795. After the "battle" a few yeomen and farmers joined together "for mutual defence, and the assertion of British rights." So, it is said, the first Orange Lodge was established. The toast of the "Battle of the Diamond" was, then, one commemorative of the foundation of Orangeism. Drummond knew what fatal results often flowed from those party toasts and displays in the north of Ireland, and from the spirit of rivalry and animosity to which they gave life. Accordingly, he wrote to Colonel Verner thus: "It appearing in the *Newry Telegraph* that at an election dinner, given by you, one of the toasts was 'The battle of the Diamond.' I am desired by his Excellency to desire that you will inform him whether it can be possible that you were thus a party to the commemoration of a lawless and most disgraceful conflict, in which much of the blood of your fellow-subjects was spilt, and the immediate consequence of which was, as testified by all the leading men and magistrates of your county, to place that part of the country at the mercy of an ungovernable mob." *

* This letter was the joint production of Drummond, Lord Morpeth, and Woulfe.

Colonel Verner haughtily replied, "I am disposed to think that, when you put a question in a form like this, you can hardly expect, on cool reflection, that I should condescend to answer it; at least, I would imagine you could expect no other answer than one which I hold superfluous, namely, that I am not capable of being a party to the commemoration of anything 'lawless or disgraceful.'" Colonel Verner, parrying Drummond's question, then went on to say that he considered his letter "very unintelligible," and, alluding to the fact that there had been many conflicts of the "Diamond" of recent years, added, "Of all the conflicts which took place at any of the various places called by the name of 'Diamond,' there is none to which your description is in the least degree applicable." Drummond answered, "You profess yourself unable to recognize the conflict [of the Diamond]. If his Excellency could have anticipated that you would have experienced, from this cause, any difficulty in replying to the question addressed to you, he would have referred you to your own evidence, published in the report of the Committee on Orange Lodges in Ireland, and more especially to the following answer, No. 92:—Question: 'The battle of Diamond Hill took place on the 21st of September, 1795—did it not?' Answer: 'It did.' His Excellency need scarcely observe that the number of such conflicts does not render the

commemoration of one or more of them the less objectionable, or make it less imperative on him to ascertain the fact of magistrates having joined in such proceedings." The letter concluded thus: "Upon a full consideration of the case, his Excellency will deem it expedient to recommend to the Lord Chancellor that you should not be included in the new Commission of the Peace, and will also direct your name to be omitted from the revised list of deputy-lieutenants for the county of Tyrone. Signed, MORPETH." So ended Drummond's passage of arms with Colonel Verner.

With the appointment of Stipendiaries in 1836, Drummond's difficulties in maintaining order became less formidable. He had also succeeded by degrees in making the police force a very effective body, and had in fact infused into all the departments new life and vigour. The spirit of Drummond was felt everywhere. "The police," says General Larcom, "became under his hands an almost perfect machine, which, like a delicate musical instrument, responded at once from the remotest part of Ireland to his touch in Dublin Castle." *

The power of Orangeism was soon broken. Drummond always kept himself accurately informed for days in advance of the Orange tactics,

* McLennan, "Memoir of Drummond," p. 266.

and he was always prepared. He always knew what to do, and he did it at the right time and place. He moved the troops—constabulary and regulars—about the country with the precision of a Moltke. He never trusted the local magistrates on critical occasions.* The troops were sent under the direction of Stipendiaries, and the Stipendiaries acted under the direct orders of Drummond. In 1836 twelve troops and a half of cavalry and thirty-four companies of infantry were employed, under the direction of thirty-three Stipendiaries, to suppress Orange demonstrations. In 1837 a less number was found to be sufficient; and in 1838 nine troops of cavalry and five companies of infantry, under the direction of sixteen Stipendiaries, were enough. By such means was peace preserved in the north.

While having his energies thus greatly taxed by northern troubles, southern disturbances demanded an equal amount of vigour and skill from Drummond. In those days the celebrated faction fights were a source of grave disorder. On well-understood occasions, such as holidays and fairs, the people in the south and west turned out and fought in battle array. Several thousands, we are told, used sometimes to be engaged in those struggles. Before Drummond's time it was considered impossible to put down the

† *Vide* Appendix C.

Factions. The rule, apparently, was that no disorders could be put down without coercion, and that the Factions could not be put down under any circumstances. It was left for Drummond to show how effectually order might be maintained without the adoption of a policy unworthy of statesmanship.

In dealing with the faction fights Drummond resolved, in accordance with his invariable practice, to strike—and to strike at once, so far as it was possible for him—at the causes of the disorders. If faction fights were likely to take place at fairs or markets, Drummond was determined that the police, and, if necessary, the military, should be there to prevent them. But he thought a better plan still would be to stop the fairs and markets, where it was possible, and it was possible in many cases. In fact, there were then several fairs and markets held in Ireland which might well be abolished without much inconvenience to any one except the faction fighters. There is a story told of an Irish farmer who, on being asked by his son what he should do when he got to the fair, replied, "Wherever you see a head, hit it." There was a good deal of head-hitting, and very little of any other kind of "business," transacted at some of those fairs and markets.

Thomas Drummond quickly ascertained by his own personal observation what fairs and markets

might, without any interference with the business of the country, be suppressed, and those he determined to prohibit. But in his efforts to suppress the Factions, he had to contend with the inertness —one might almost say the imbecility—of Irish officialism, which he found to exist everywhere when work had to be done. Whenever he proposed something that was new and not easy of accomplishment, he was told by coercively reared officials that it could not be done. A sub-inspector of police wrote him in 1836 that the suppression of fights at fairs and faction riots was impracticable. Thomas Drummond had not been many months in the country when the same sub-inspector wrote, "'There is no doubt, if the business will be well followed up for a sufficient time, these disgraceful riots will presently be put a stop to.' The business was well followed up, and the disgraceful riots put a stop to." *

The following incident, related by Drummond's sister, trifling as it is, will serve to illustrate the mode in which the Under-Secretary dealt with Irish disturbances and disorder; it will also serve to illustrate the *non possumus* character of the Irish officials:—"On the Sunday afternoons and evenings crowds used to assemble in the Phœnix Park. Drinking-booths were opened, and few Sundays passed without riot and mischief ensuing. My

* McLennan, "Memoir of Drummond," p. 271.

brother talked over the matter with some friends, who told him he must not dream of interfering, because it was a very old custom, and it would not do to attempt to put it down. He resolved, however, that he would make the attempt; so one Sunday afternoon, the people having assembled as usual, and the booths being erected, he rode out unattended among the crowd. To the keeper of the nearest booth he represented the consequences of the meetings—drunkenness, brawls, fighting, and then punishment; he said these things were to him very painful, and that it would give him great satisfaction could the meetings be altogether given up. The man immediately, without a word of remonstrance, complaint, or even a show of sullenness, set about packing up. He quickly left the grounds, and never returned again. The same result occurred at other booths, and in a short time the park was cleared, and the 'old custom' given up for ever." * Thus it was that Thomas Drummond, in a spirit of conciliation and by reasonable courses—though he was always prepared, when the necessity arose, to enforce the ordinary law with a vigour that was irresistible—governed Ireland. No Under-Secretary or Chief Secretary before or since his time has governed her with such success, and this because Drummond was (what Carlyle has said Johnson was)

* McLennan, "Memoir of Drummond," p. 404.

"no Clothes-Horse, no Patent Digester, but a genuine man."

More serious and formidable than the Factions were the illegal Agrarian Associations with which Drummond had to deal. There have been illegal Agrarian Associations in Ireland since 1761, when Whiteboyism first came into existence. It is a grave statement to make, but the truth must be told—those associations gave to the Irish peasants the protection which, beyond all doubt, they needed, but which the Parliament of England was unwilling or unable to afford. "The Whiteboy Association," says Sir George Cornewall Lewis, "may be considered as a vast trades union for the protection of the Irish peasantry, the object being to keep the actual occupant in possession of his land, and in general to regulate the relation of landlord and tenant for the benefit of the latter." * Parliament had regulated it for the benefit of the former. With reference to the subject of Whiteboyism, the opinion of Mr. Poulett Scrope, an English landlord, and a most moderate politician, who sat in the House of Commons for many years as member for Stroud, will, I doubt not, be read with much interest. He says, "Though God gave the land of Ireland to the people of Ireland—to the many—the law has given it unconditionally to the few. Even in the best of times, if the landlord

* G. C. Lewis, "Irish Disturbances," p. 99.

refuse to any peasant the holding of a plot of land; if other starving wretches outbid his offers for the patch of soil whose possession is as necessary to his existence as the air he breathes; if sickness or misfortune prevent his punctual payment of the enormous rent he has promised, and he and his family are ejected (by the cheap and summary process which landlord-made law provides) from the cabin which sheltered him from his birth and his fathers before him;—what remains? He must die! The law, at least, says so. The law allows him no other alternative. He may contrive to prolong a precarious existence on the charity of his poor neighbours (as he asks it in vain from the rich), or he may take by force or stealth what is necessary to preserve life. But the law does not recognize these means of living; on the contrary, the law forbids them. The law says if he cannot rent land or obtain work he shall starve. This is the real wrong; this is the giant grievance; this is the most crying, the most urgent, of the just complaints of the Irish people. And it is against this state of the law that they combine in their Whiteboy associations—associations that will never be put down until the law extends that protection to the lives of the poor which it now lavishes almost exclusively on the property of the rich. And who will say that the peasantry ought not, in such a state of the law, to combine for their mutual pro-

tection? Is there no point of oppression at which resistance to the law becomes a duty? We have the recent authority of the head of the law for the principle—a principle as old as it is true—that allegiance is only due where protection is afforded, and that where the law refuses its protection it cannot claim allegiance. Does the law, then, protect the Irish peasant? Not from starvation. It does not protect him from being thrust out from his home and little holding into absolute destitution, to perish on the highways of famine, or to waste away in those abodes of filth, misery, and disease, in the suburbs of the towns which Dr. Doyle so faithfully describes as the ordinary refuge and dying-place of the ejected cottier and his family. It does not prevent him from being visited by this fate at the command of an absentee landlord, who may desire to clear his property of some of the human encumbrances whom God has brought into being upon it. The law affords the Irish peasant no protection from so horrible a fate. Hundreds are at present exposed to it. Millions know that they are liable to it. Can the law justly require their allegiance? Can we expect them willingly to pay it? No! The peasantry of Ireland feel that the law places their lives at the mercy of the few, whom it invests with sovereign power over the land of their native country—with power to sweep them at will off its surface! . . .

They feel that the continuance of the system of clearing estates, which has been for so many years in progress, is a question of life and death to them. And therefore do they combine against it. Therefore it is—however little minds may wonder at the fact—that they show no more repugnance to the shedding of blood in open day, in the presence of assenting thousands, in the execution of the sentences of self-organized tribunals, looked upon by them as the sole safeguard of their lives, than does a soldier hired to fight for his country's safety in the field of battle. It is to their own Whiteboy law that their allegiance is considered due. They look alone to the secret tribunals of their own establishment for the protection which the law of the Imperial Parliament denies them. And they obtain it! Let those who know Ireland deny the fact, if they can. The peasantry of Ireland do more or less obtain from the Whiteboy associations that essential protection to their existence which the established law of the country refuses to afford. The Whiteboy system is the practical and efficient check upon the ejectment system. It cannot be denied that but for the salutary terror inspired by the Whiteboys, the clearance of estates (which in the over-peopled districts of Ireland is considered, justly or not, to be the only mode of improving or even of saving them) would proceed with a rapidity and to an extent that must occa-

sion the most horrible sufferings to hundreds of thousands of the ejected tenantry. Some landlords have bowels of compassion, and might hesitate so to employ the fearful power with which the law has unconditionally armed them for the improvement of their property. Many, the majority perhaps, would not be stayed by such scruples. It is easy to satisfy the mind of an interested party that what the law allows to be done cannot be wrong—that what appears necessary for the preservation of property must be right. May they not do as they will with their own? Yes! But for a salutary dread of the Whiteboy associations, ejectments would desolate Ireland and decimate her population; casting forth thousands of families like noxious weeds rooted out from the soil on which they have hitherto grown perhaps too luxuriantly, and flung away to perish in the roadside ditches. Yes; the Whiteboy system is the only check on the ejectment system; and, weighing one against the other, horror against horror and crime against crime, it is perhaps the lesser evil of the two—a necessary evil in the present state of the law in Ireland—a mitigation of the otherwise intolerable slavery which the law of the land enforces of the Irish peasant to the Irish landlord. The Whiteboy system will never be put down until the Legislature establish a law for the end it aims at—that, namely, of protecting the lives of the Irish

peasantry and securing to them the means of living by their industry." *

Drummond's difficulties in dealing with Irish agrarianism and Irish disturbances generally—great under any circumstances—were increased by the action of the English Parliament. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that, as fast as Lord Melbourne brought in remedial measures they were thrown out by the Lords. The irritation produced in Ireland by the obstruction thus offered to remedial legislation immensely embarrassed Drummond. He was expected to keep order in the country whilst the unwise action of the House of Lords was actually fanning the embers of Irish discontent into flames. When those flames burnt fiercely, and when danger seemed imminent—the danger being in a great measure caused by themselves—the Lords in effect exclaimed, "Suspend the Habeas Corpus!" But Melbourne retorted, "Pass the Tithes Bill." Redress, not coercion: this was the principle of the Melbourne administration. "Give us troops to collect the tithes, and to protect us from the vengeance of the peasantry," cried the clergy to Drummond. "Proclaim our counties; give us martial law; fling the tenants into gaol without trial by jury," said the landlords. "Be just, and fear not," replied the Under-Secretary. "You have brought a great many of your troubles on

* Poulett Scrope, Letter to Lord Melbourne, 1834; reprinted, and addressed to Sir Robert Peel in 1844.

yourselves. I shall, of course, nevertheless, protect you by the rigorous enforcement of the ordinary law. But you do not deserve—and you shall not have—extraordinary powers, in order that your unfortunate tenants may be more helplessly placed within your grasp than they are even now." Mr. McLennan relates the following incident, which is illustrative of the firmness, the sense of justice, and the thorough appreciation of the condition of affairs in Ireland generally, exhibited by Drummond in all his encounters with the Ascendency party: "The Tithes Commutation Bill had not yet (1836) been carried, and in various parts a hot war was being carried on against the peasantry to levy the tithes by force. In one parish in Munster alone the police in a single week accompanied four commissions of rebellion. Writs of rebellion, seizures, auction-sales for tithes, and wholesale ejectments were everywhere being enforced. Even these means did not suffice the tithes-collectors. An incident in these weeks was the application to Government of Mr. Talbot Glasscock, attorney to the Dean of St. Patrick's, for 'the aid of the civil and military powers to effect the service of Exchequer processes upon some of the Dean's parishioners in the county of Kilkenny.' The application—like many similar ones made at that time—was refused." * The refusal led to a corre-

* McLennan, "Memoir of Drummond," p. 408.

spondence between Mr. Glasscock and Drummond, in the course of which Mr. Glasscock grew very warm and offensive, and the Under-Secretary, as was his wont, remained very cool and very firm. But Mr. Glasscock did not gain his point.

Another interesting incident in the administration of Drummond was his memorable passage of arms with the Tipperary magistrates. Some agrarian outrages had occurred in Tipperary: an attack was made upon three landlords—Mr. Samuel Cooper, Mr. Austin Cooper, and Mr. Francis Wayland. Whilst proceeding to the fair of Tipperary, the Messrs. Cooper in a gig and Mr. Wayland on horseback, they were fired upon by four men. Mr. Samuel Cooper and Mr. Wayland returned the fire, but unhappily Mr. Austin Cooper was shot dead by a ball passing through his head, and Mr. Wayland was severely wounded in the hip. "It appears," says the magistrate, in reporting the outrage to the Lord-Lieutenant, "that it was known for some time previous to this attack that it was the intention of the miscreants of the country to assassinate these two gentlemen; that a committee of villains had met, and determined on the death of Mr. Austin Cooper; that his friends had warned him frequently of his danger; yet, notwithstanding the precautions he took, he was unable to avoid the ball to which he had been doomed. Mr. Wayland's house was attacked a few days previous

with the view of shooting him." The magistrates now asked the Lord-Lieutenant for additional power to protect "life and property," which they said "were not safe in the country." "A terrible state of intimidation," they added, "existed amongst the juries." "We beg respectfully," they wrote to the Lord-Lieutenant, "that her Majesty's Government will bring in a Bill to Parliament for the purpose of inflicting a heavier penalty than that now in force on persons for having unregistered arms or ammunition in their possession. We also recommend that licences granted for keeping arms be renewed annually, and that additional powers for searching for arms be given to the magistrates." * To this letter Drummond replied, in a communication addressed to Lord Donoughmore, expressing the "deepest concern for the lamentable occurrence" to which the magistrate called attention. "Prompt and vigorous measures," he said, "shall be adopted to bring to justice the perpetrators of so atrocious an act." However, he did not conceal from the magistrates his doubts as to being able fully to assert the law in the matter.

"The Government," he said, "has been at all times ready to afford the utmost aid in its power to suppress disturbance and crime, and its efforts have been successful so far as regards open viola-

* Letters addressed to the Lord-Lieutenant, and signed by Lords Glengall and Lismore, and thirty other Tipperary magistrates.

tions of the law. Faction fights and riots at fairs, which were generally of a very ferocious character, and the fruitful source of much subsequent crime, have been to a very great degree suppressed, though heretofore most commonly suffered to pass unchecked and unpunished; but there are certain classes of crime originating in other causes which are much more difficult of repression. The utmost exertion of vigilance and precaution cannot always effectually guard against them, and it becomes of importance to consider the causes which have led to a state of society so much to be deplored, with a view to ascertain whether any corrective means are in the immediate power of the Government or the Legislature." Drummond then states what he believes to be the causes of those outrages. "When the character of the great majority of serious outrages occurring in many parts of Ireland, though unhappily most frequent in Tipperary, is considered, it is impossible to doubt that the causes from which they mainly spring are connected with the tenure and occupation of land." He then proceeds to point out what he conceives to be the true remedy for the disorder, and to give his views as to the adoption of extraordinary measures.

"Property has its duties as well as its rights; to the neglect of those duties in times past is mainly to be ascribed that diseased state of society in which such crimes take their rise, and it is not in

the enactment or enforcement of statutes of extraordinary severity, but chiefly in the better and more faithful performance of those duties, and the more enlightened and humane exercise of those rights, that a permanent remedy for such disorders is to be sought.

"Whatever Government can do to protect the rights which the law has conferred, and to suppress violence and crime, from whatever cause arising, his Excellency, as head of the Executive, will direct and enforce; but his Excellency firmly believes that the end so earnestly to be desired will be more speedily and effectually attained by the vigorous administration of the ordinary laws than by the adoption of any more vigorous measures. His Excellency," Drummond added, "has given, and will continue to give, to the administration of the laws his most anxious consideration . . . the rest," he concluded, "must be left to time, to the faithful and diligent performance of their duties by the local magistrates, to the beneficial exercise of their rights as landlords, and to the operation of such measures of general policy as the Legislature in its wisdom may adopt." It may safely be said that this letter produced a panic amongst the landlords and magistrates of Tipperary. The doctrine that "Property has its duties as well as its rights," was so thoroughly novel — so audacious in its novelty—that the landlords might well be excused

for feeling discomfited and dismayed on reading Drummond's extraordinary and to them almost incomprehensible words. To be told, as Drummond plainly told them, that they themselves were in some measure to blame for the melancholy condition of things which prevailed, was a matter not easily to be borne. But what was to be done? The magistrates acted with great good sense in the affair. They did not publish Drummond's letter; they did nothing.

Lord Donoughmore very candidly and fairly stated subsequently the reasons of the inaction of the magistrates to the Roden Committee. "I was very unwilling," his lordship said, "to make the the letter public. I sent for Lord Glengall, Lord Hawarden, and Lord Lismore, and read the reply over to them three or four times, and although I did not conceive the document, though directed to me as Lord-Lieutenant, to be my document, for Lord Glengall was chairman of this meeting, I said, 'Though this is your document, I shall not give it under the state of excitement in which the country is. I shall not allow it to be published at present, inasmuch as I am the party to whom it is addressed.' It was so worded that it threw the blame upon the landlords of having been the authors of the outrage. That was the impression upon my mind, and I did not wish it published." Being asked to point out the passages which he

conceived had a dangerous tendency, he said, "The part of this answer to which I particularly objected was this, 'Property has its duties as well as its rights; to the neglect of these duties in times past is mainly to be ascribed that diseased state of society in which such crimes take their rise.'" The history of the letter after its concealment by the Earl is somewhat curious. It was laid on the table of the House of Commons on the motion of Mr. Hume, and was afterwards disseminated over Ireland by the Press and in fly-sheets before it ever met the eyes of the magistrates, to whose petition it was the answer. The purpose of the document, according to the Earl of Donoughmore and his friends, was to inflame the minds of the people against the landed proprietors.*

But while steadily resisting every suggestion and appeal for the suspension of the Constitution in Ireland, Drummond continued to work the ordinary law in a manner which fairly astonished the demoralized officials by whom he was surrounded —demoralized by over-doses of what Mr. Bright has so well described as the "ever failing and poisonous medicine" of coercion.†

Drummond was, however, unable to suppress completely the agrarian associations; indeed, he conceded the fact. That was a work to be accom-

* McLennan, "Memoirs of Drummond," p. 325.

† The murderers of Mr. Cooper were brought to justice.

plished, he well knew, not by the Irish Executive, but by the English Legislature. Whilst the relations of landlord and tenant in Ireland remained unreformed, agrarianism could never, it was abundantly evident to every thinking man, be effectually put down. All that could be done in the face of the difficulties created by "bad legislation, by careless legislation, by criminal legislation," Drummond did to check the growth of Whiteboyism and Ribbonism ; but, strengthened as those associations were by the action of the English Parliament, the work was too much, even for him. The Tory Party thought that, as Drummond was not governing in "a state of siege," he must necessarily be ignorant of the tactics of the agrarian societies, and indeed he was directly charged with a dereliction of duty in regard to them. But in his examination before the Roden Committee the Under-Secretary "opened the eyes" of his assailants. He made a most able statement, displaying a knowledge of the objects, details, and intricacies of Ribbonism, which put to shame those who had charged him with neglecting his duties. In fact, the Ribbonmen *felt* the presence of Drummond, as did all the disturbing elements of Irish Society—Orangemen, Factions, and Whiteboys.

It is unnecessary to dwell upon the difficulties of coping with Ribbonism.* The arrest of a Ribbon-

* I use the word "Ribbonism" here as synonymous with agrarianism.

man is even still, I need not say, a rare occurrence. Modern Irish Secretaries have been unable to accomplish this very difficult feat, even when the Constitution has been suspended to aid them in the discharge of their duties. Drummond did not require the suspension of the Constitution to enable him to bring Ribbonmen to justice, and learn in some degree their movements. Soon after his arrival at the Castle, and when he had imparted a little of his own vigour to the Irish authorities, and put life into the police, a Ribbonman was arrested. The man had committed an offence in Sligo, and was apprehended in Dublin on his way to England. Some time later another Ribbonman was apprehended, and important papers were found in his possession, leading to significant disclosures. The importance of even two Ribbon arrests will easily be appreciated by those who are acquainted with the operations of the society. Ribbonmen are so seldom arrested. They can, as a rule, inflict their terrible punishments with such deplorable impunity, that the apprehension of even one of their number creates not a little consternation among them, and produces a most wholesome effect. They begin to feel that the police are stirring, and that they can no longer pursue their operations with safety. They acquire some respect for the law—some fear of it. There is not in Ireland a body of men who find out more quickly

whether there is a strong or a weak man at the Castle than do the Ribbon or agrarian societies. Those associations very quickly recognized the strength of Thomas Drummond; they felt it in two ways. Firstly, the police were more vigilant; secondly, the peasantry were less sympathetic. The former feared Drummond; they saw that he was determined to make them do their work, and not to tolerate their wretched excuses that they couldn't do anything without a Coercion Act. Accordingly they bestirred themselves. The latter liked Drummond. They felt that he meant and was resolved to do well by them; they saw that he was a man, not of mere intentions, but of deeds; not of words, but acts.

> "Unshaken, unreduced, unterrified;
> Nor number nor example with him wrought
> To swerve from right or change his constant mind."

They observed how he bearded the magistrates and landlords in his efforts to obtain justice for the Irish people. The spectacle of a stranger doing all this, devoting his life and all his great energies to the services of a country not his own, won their hearts. Accordingly, they did not exhibit to the same extent that sympathy for Whiteboys and Ribbonmen in trouble which had formerly been shown. Drummond was steadily impressing the people with the belief that the English Govern-

ment was able to protect them from the territorial despots by whom they were oppressed, and the people were steadily showing a reciprocal confidence in the Government.

Another matter which attached the people to Drummond, and enabled him to avoid the errors into which so many Irish Secretaries have fallen, was the circumspection he exercised in dealing with informers. "The spy system," says Mr. McLennan, "so abhorrent to so-called British feeling, is a necessary recourse of every Government;" but "it may be questioned whether it has in any country been carried to greater lengths than it has been at times in Ireland." * It may truly be said that there have been few countries where the authorities have so culpably, and I might almost say so recklessly, surrendered themselves into the hands of the informer and the spy as in Ireland. But Drummond treated the informers of the time with caution. He saw and examined them himself, tested their evidence thoroughly, acted upon it with hesitation, and very often did not act upon it at all. The following incident, related by Drummond, will show how he dealt with informers: "Mr. O'Connell made a communication to the Government at that time that he had received information that a person had important intelligence to give respecting those societies.† I

* McLennan, "Life of Drummond," p. 293. † Ribbonmen.

saw that person, and he made a stipulation that he should not be required to communicate with any police magistrates. I was to see him alone, in secret, and at night. He came to me, accordingly, by appointment, and detailed much of that information which has subsequently been given by the police commissioners respecting those two societies. He told me of several outrages, which, he said, were concocted at their meetings. I urged him, seeing that those outrages were committed almost daily, and as he belonged to one of the societies, to give me, as a test of the accuracy of his statements, information previous to the commission of an outrage, that the police might be able to arrest the offenders in the act. From that time to this, however, he has never given such information in any one instance, nor has any other among the many informants known to the Government given information which would enable the constabulary to take measures for the prevention of crime. I had a communication from Lord Morpeth, who was at that time in England. Parliament met in November, 1837, and Mr. O'Connell, who had taken a very leading part in denouncing these secret and illegal societies, waited on Lord Morpeth in London, and told him he had heard of another person who was prepared to give information. Lord Morpeth wrote to me in these words: 'O'Connell has just been with me, and brought me

the enclosed. I need not talk of its importance ;—will call on you. Protection, personal and pecuniary, is what he wants to be guaranteed to him. I am sure you will be sparing of no effort to fathom and blow up this business. It is quite clear that the man is not exaggerating it for the purpose of magnifying his own merits.' I continued to see this man from day to day without any result whatever. His information was a mere statement of the names of persons alleged by him to be members of these associations. At that time there were outrages committed against Mr. Guinness. I was in constant communication with this informer concerning them. He declared to me that the persons committing them were in the very lodge to which he belonged. But, notwithstanding his repeated promises to bring to me the information that would lead to the apprehension of those men, he never in a single instance brought information that would enable us to anticipate an outrage. Seeing this going on, I told him it would be necessary to put him in communication with the police commissioners, for I could not devote more time to it." *

The information of those spies generally proved worthless. But the magistrates did not exhibit the

* Mr. Drummond's evidence; the Roden Committee appointed to inquire into the state of Ireland since 1835. Ordered to be printed by the House of Commons, August 2, 1839.

same tact, and show the same amount of caution as Drummond evinced in dealing with informers. Indeed, it would seem that Lord Roden was a good deal taken in by the stories which Drummond had sifted and proved unworthy of credence. "Many of those informers," says McLennan, "were discovered to be utterly worthless and infamous persons. One, who made a trade of playing informer, tried several magistrates in turn, and got money from them before his true character was discovered. In another case, where an informer came forward as an accessory to a Ribbon murder, it was clearly established that his information was wholly false, and that he knew nothing whatever of the murder. Yet it was in reliance upon statements from persons of this class that Earl Roden founded his charge, and that one of the magistrates —a Mr. Rowan—firmly believed it."* To this Mr. Rowan every facility was afforded by the Government for following up the information he had received, and on which he relied; but nothing ever came of his exertions.

Forty-five cases of Ribbonism had been thoroughly investigated by Drummond, whilst the Tory party thought he was falling asleep over the matter in the Castle. These cases had occurred in Sligo, Cavan, Louth, Meath, Wicklow, Leitrim, Clare, Mayo, Galway, Monaghan, Donegal, Long-

* McLennan, "Memoir of Drummond," p. 392.

ford, and Westmeath. But, despite his efforts, Drummond failed to suppress agrarianism completely—first, because his reign at Dublin Castle was, unhappily, too brief; secondly, because Lord Melbourne's efforts to do full and complete justice to the Irish people were, unfortunately, rendered unavailing in consequence of the hostility of English public opinion.

The failure of so powerful an administrator as Drummond to put down agrarian outrages ought to teach English legislators a useful lesson. It proves that even a strong Irish Executive cannot effectually cope with agrarian combinations, unless they are supported in their attempts by equally strong remedial legislative action directed towards the effective amelioration of the condition of the Irish peasantry.

Drummond's labours in Ireland seriously impaired his health. So anxious was he to promote the welfare of the country that, not content with zealously discharging his own duties, he undertook additional work of a most arduous kind. A commission had been appointed, chiefly upon his suggestion, to consider the advisability of constructing extensive lines of railway, under the control of Government, throughout the country, and he was, at his own solicitation, appointed one of the Commissioners. Drummond's work upon this Commission would, if he had never done anything else

for Ireland, have entitled him to the lasting gratitude of the Irish people. But the work was too much for him, and he sank under it.

In the winter of 1839 it became evident that Drummond's health was breaking down. His friends urged him to relinquish his duties for a time, and seek rest and change of scene. Yielding to their repeated entreaties, he went to England for a short time. He returned to Dublin in February, 1840. On April 10th of that year, Mr. McLennan tells us, he entertained a party of friends to dinner. He rode to the Castle as usual on Saturday morning. On Sunday he became seriously unwell. On Monday he grew worse. On Tuesday it became clear that Thomas Drummond had not now long to live. As pure and noble a soul as had ever been breathed into man was quickly passing away. On Tuesday night he asked to see his children. The doctors felt obliged to deny him this request. He then begged Dr. Johnson to open a drawer, which he pointed out, where there were three small Bibles, each with a history attached to it. "Give these," he said, "to my children, with their papa's blessing. It is the best legacy I can give them." On Wednesday afternoon Drummond began to sink rapidly. All was nearly over now. Dr. Johnson told his noble-hearted patient that he had not many minutes to live. "Doctor," replied Drummond,

"all is peace; tell my mother that on my death-bed I remembered the instructions I had received from her in childhood." Mrs. Drummond entered the room, and he bade her a last farewell. "Dearest beloved Maria," he said, "you have been an angel of a wife to me. Your admonitions have blessed me long." The last moment had now arrived, and Dr. Johnson asked Drummond where he wished to be buried, "in Ireland or in Scotland?" "In Ireland—the land of my adoption," was the immediate answer; "I have loved her well and served her faithfully, and lost my life in her service." All then ended. One of the best, one of the most unselfish and pure-minded friends Ireland has ever known, was no more.

Drummond's remains rest in Harold's Cross Cemetery, Dublin, and his statue—the only one, it may be truly said, ever erected by the Irish people to an English official—stands in the City Hall, side by side with the sculptured figures of Charles Lucas, Henry Grattan, and Daniel O'Connell. His memory is to-day green in the hearts of the nation he loved and served so well, his name honoured and revered wherever his life and work are known.

NOTE.

DRUMMOND IN IRELAND.

TROOPS QUARTERED IN IRELAND BETWEEN 1833 AND 1847.

Year.	Troops.	
1833	23,998	
1834	23,035	
1835	18,962	Drummond.
1836	17,906	Drummond.
1837	18,480	Drummond.
1838	17,420	Drummond.
1839	16,264	Drummond.
1840	14,956	Drummond.
1842	16,556	
1843	21,210	
1845	23,776	
1846	24,114	
1847	28,108	

*FEDERAL UNION WITH IRELAND.**

THE five most influential men in Ireland at the present time are Mr. Parnell, Mr. Davitt, Mr. Healy, Archbishop Croke, and Archbishop Walsh; and there can be little doubt that the Irish people would accept any measure of self-government on which these gentlemen might agree.

Mr. Parnell is supreme; the confidence of the people in his powers as a leader is almost unbounded. No combination of political forces in the country could overthrow his authority.

Next in importance to Mr. Parnell is Mr. Davitt, who has an independent following, and whose fame as the founder of the Land League gives him a separate place in the popular heart.

Mr. Healy is important mainly through Mr. Parnell, but he has also won a distinct position for himself by the practical ability he displayed in the discussions on the Land Bill of 1881; and it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that his name

* *Nineteenth Century*, January, 1886.

is not without weight even among the tenant-farmers of Ulster. However, unlike Mr. Davitt, he has no political following apart from Mr. Parnell.

Archbishop Croke is a power mainly because he stood by Mr. Parnell when other dignitaries of the Catholic Church were opposed to him, and Archbishop Walsh is popular on account of his known national leanings. In the event of a difference of opinion between Mr. Parnell and Mr. Davitt the influence of the Archbishops would be of practical importance, but not, perhaps, otherwise. For instance, were they in such a contingency to throw their weight into the scale with Mr. Parnell, Mr. Davitt would not have the slightest chance of making headway against the popular leader. But were they to support Mr. Davitt, then his opposition would be very serious, although in the end Mr. Parnell would probably bear it down.

Mr. Parnell's Cabinet is supposed to consist of Mr. Healy, Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Harrington, and, perhaps, Mr. T. P. O'Connor. Mr. Healy, of course, holds the first place. He is a sagacious counsellor; as capable of wisely conducting peaceful negotiations as fiercely carrying on an uncompromising war. Mr. O'Brien is essentially a man of war; Mr. Harrington an efficient organizer; Mr. T. P. O'Connor represents an active force of literary and political propagandism. It may be added that

Mr. Justin McCarthy and Mr. O'Kelly possess the confidence of the Cabinet, if they are not actually in it.

Two men who are not supposed to be in the Cabinet deserve to be mentioned—Mr. John Dillon and Mr. Edmund Dwyer Gray. Mr. Dillon is much esteemed as an upright, chivalrous gentleman, and Mr. Gray is a power as the proprietor of the most widely circulated paper in Ireland, and a man of strong sense and sound judgment.

A question worth considering is, What scheme for Home Rule would be likely to satisfy the public men, especially the first five, whom I have above named?

1. The basis of such a scheme should be a Parliament and an Executive in Dublin invested with full powers to legislate on and manage all purely Irish matters, the control of Imperial affairs being reserved for the Imperial Legislature sitting in London.

2. With respect to the constitution of this Irish Parliament there might be a difference of opinion, although not of a serious kind, between the Irish leaders. For instance, Mr. Davitt might prefer that it should consist of only one Chamber, elected on universal suffrage; but he would most probably give way on this point to the general opinion, and the general opinion would, I think, be disposed largely to yield to English susceptibilities.

If English statesmen proposed that there should be two Chambers on the English system, Mr. Parnell would probably concede the point, though he might urge that the Irish House of Lords should be reformed. Were he offered Lord Rosebery's plan, he would most likely accept it, and the Archbishops and Mr. Davitt (the latter, perhaps, with some demur) would agree. Mr. Healy, who has a good deal of common sense combined with his apparent irreconcilability, would go in with the majority, seeing the unwisdom of endangering the scheme by throwing any unnecessary obstacles in the way of its passage through the Lords.

3. Would Ireland send members to the Imperial Parliament in London to vote on Imperial questions, as well as members to the National Assembly in Dublin? Here, again, there might be a slight difference of opinion between the Irish leaders. Mr. Davitt might propose that no Irish members should be sent to London, and he would, perhaps, argue that their presence in the Imperial Parliament would be of no use to Ireland, as they could not reasonably expect to influence the Imperial policy to any important extent.

On the other hand, the Archbishops might prefer an Irish representation in London, in the hope that the Irish members would be of some weight in determining the Home and Foreign policy of the

Empire, so far as the interests of the Catholic Church were concerned.* Mr. Parnell is, I think, in favour of a regular Irish representation in the Imperial Parliament, and his decision would determine the action of his Cabinet. Mr. Dillon would probably agree with Mr. Davitt, while Mr. Gray would support Mr. Parnell and the Archbishops. As a compromise scheme Mr. Davitt might, perhaps, propose Delegations such as exist under the Austro-Hungarian system, according to which questions common to both countries are decided in an assembly consisting of delegates from the respective legislatures, who meet in separate Chambers, and who, in the event of a disagreement, come together and vote without debate. The decision of the majority is binding on the whole Empire. However, on this question of a separate or joint representation, or of a dualistic arrangement such as exist in Austria-Hungary, the Irish leaders would, I think, be willing to meet the English Ministry half-way.

* Since this article was written, Bishop Nulty, in a letter to the Bishop of Salford, uses the words, "Speaking on the question of Home Rule in one of my late audiences with the Holy Father, I perceived that the only argument against that measure which in any way disquieted him was, that the withdrawal of the Irish Parliamentary party from the English House of Commons would leave Catholic interests throughout the whole British Empire wholly defenceless and unprotected. That argument was evidently of English origin, and fortunately admitted of a satisfactory answer which it would be out of place to repeat here."—*Freeman's Journal*, November 19, 1885.

Assuming that the Ministry approved of an Irish representation in the Imperial Legislature, the question would arise, How many members should Ireland send to that assembly? Mr. Parnell would, I think, hold out for the present number, 103; and, in the event of Ministers proposing a reduction to 80, 70, or 50, would, with the united strength of his party in the House of Commons, vigorously resist the change. Nevertheless, if borne down by English and Scotch opposition, he would yield the point with good grace, and I do not think that the struggle over it would leave a trace of any bad feeling behind.

4. What subjects would be reserved for the Imperial, what confined to the Irish, Parliament? I think the Irish leaders would consent to an arrangement by which Imperial and Irish affairs should be distributed thus:—

Imperial Questions.

Foreign policy, peace or war, the army and navy, matters relating to the Crown (including, if the occasion should arise, the appointment of Regent), the currency, the Post Office.

Irish Questions.

Education, land, law and justice, police, trade and commerce, customs.

The control of the Imperial Parliament should extend in the fullest degree over the army and navy, and to all matters relating to the defences of the country. Fortifications should be erected, harbours built, and garrisons established in any part of Ireland, irrespective of the views of the Irish Legislature, and the question of the purse, so far as these matters were concerned, should be an Imperial one. The appointment of the commander-in-chief of the forces in Ireland, and other military offices, should be at the disposal of the Imperial Government.

With respect to the questions which ought to be dealt with by the Irish Parliament, the demand for the first four above named—education, land, law and justice, police—would not under any circumstances be willingly given up by the Irish leaders, and the exclusion of any one of them would lead to a rupture of negotiations. A plan of Home Rule which would not transfer to an Irish Parliament questions of education and land would be perfectly worthless as a measure of conciliation, and the omission of the control of the police, and of the appointment of the judges, if it did not endanger the Bill, would cause profound discontent and lead to renewed agitation.

But the subjects of trade and commerce and of the customs stand on a different footing. Mr. Parnell would doubtless press for their admission, but

the refusal of Ministers to yield on this point would not, I venture to say, be regarded by the Irish leader as a *casus belli.* There is certainly a feeling in favour of Protection among some people in Ireland, but, unhappily, there are few industries in the country which could be fostered by protective tariffs, and it would not be worth while to hurt English susceptibilities on the delicate subject of Free Trade in order to obtain for the Irish Parliament a power of doubtful utility.

5. Upon the question of the Viceroyalty there might be a difference of opinion, but the majority of the Irish leaders would probably in the end be in favour of retaining the office. If retained, the Lord-Lieutenant would of course be appointed, as at present, by the Crown.

6. In the interests of the Protestant minority, and rather to appease not unintelligible apprehensions than to prevent a possible act of injustice, the Irish party would, I believe, consent to the insertion of a clause in the new Constitution declaring that no system of religion or education should be endowed by the State to the exclusion of any other.

Such is a brief outline of the scheme of Home Rule which, I venture to think, the Irish people would accept as, practically, a final settlement of the Irish question. Will such a scheme be formulated, and, if formulated, carried into law?

Let me, as one belonging to no political organi-

zation, and sincerely desirous of maintaining the connection between England and Ireland, ask my English fellow-subjects, who resist the demand for Irish legislative independence on the ground that its concession would lead to political and social disorder and produce disloyal manifestations and conspiracies—let me ask them to reflect upon the history of Ireland during the past eighty-five years. Have the Irish within that period been loyal? Has the country been free from disorder, and even anarchy? Three years after the Union, Robert Emmett was hanged for high treason; and from that time down to our own Ireland has been in a state of almost continual disturbance and insurrection. To prove this statement, it seems only necessary to catalogue the Coercion Acts which have been in force from 1800 to 1885. I have already mentioned those which were in force between 1831 and 1835.* Here are the rest:—

1800, 1801	Insurrection Act, Habeas Corpus Suspension Act, and Martial Law.
1802	
1803, 1804	Insurrection Act, Habeas Corpus Suspension Act.
1805	
1806	
1807, 1808, 1809, 1810	Insurrection Act, Martial Law.

* *Ante*, pp. 3, 4.

1811	
1812	
1813	
1814	Insurrection Act, Martial Law.
1815	
1816	
1817	
1818	
1819	
1820	
1821	
1822	Insurrection Act.
1823	
1824	
1825	
1826	Act for the Suppression of Catholic Association.
1827	
1828	
1829	

From the Union to our own day there has scarcely been an interruption of social and political strife. In 1803 Emmett was, as I have said, in rebellion. In 1807 the Whiteboys defied the law and fiercely carried on their terrible struggle against landlordism. In 1811 and 1812 the agrarian war spread to Tipperary, Waterford, Kilkenny, Westmeath, Roscommon, and the Queen's County. In 1815 Tipperary, the King's County, and the Queen's, and in 1817 the County Louth, were placed under the Insurrection Act.

In 1820 disturbances broke out in Connaught, and in 1822 and 1823 the peasants of Munster and

Leinster were in revolt against the landlords. Between 1824 and 1829 the partly constitutional and partly rebellious agitation for Catholic relief was vigorously carried on by O'Connell. Between 1830 and 1835 the sanguinary Tithe War was waged, and Whitefeet, Blackfeet, Terryalts, Lady Clares, Molly Maguires, and Rockites overran the land. Between 1842 and 1846 the Repeal movement aroused the country to a state of frenzied enthusiasm, almost bordering on rebellion.

In 1848 the Young Irelanders were in insurrection. Between 1850 and 1856 Ulster or the South formed the scene of a more or less vigorous tenant-right agitation, and the land was once more stained by horrible agrarian crimes. In 1858 the treasonable Fenian Society was founded, and between 1863 and 1868 it became a power or a terror. In 1878–9 John Devoy, a Neo-Fenian, formulated his "new departure" for uniting the forces of revolution and constitutional agitation, with the object of advancing the aims of the separatist party.

From 1879 to this present year* Ireland has been in the hands of men who have been denounced as "rebels," and the authority of whose leader it is scarcely an exaggeration to say her Majesty's Ministers are at this moment forced to acknowledge. Thirty-four years after the Union an Irish

* 1887.

Lord-Lieutenant said that it was "more safe to violate the law than to obey it," * and those who have followed the career of the Land League need not be reminded that the Imperial Parliament has not yet succeeded in converting the Irish people into "law-abiding subjects."

Be the causes what they may, the fact must be faced that, after a trial of eighty-six years, the Union has failed to make Ireland loyal, to quell the social and political disorders by which her people have been so long distracted and demoralized. What is now to be done?

The experiment of coercion, pure and simple, has been tried, but without success. For twenty-nine years after the Union nothing, practically, but Coercion Acts were passed for Ireland. But the country was not pacified; the people were not made loyal. From 1829 to 1881 the experiment of granting half-measures of redress,† under the pressure of rebellious agitation, or of actual rebellion, and accompanied by more Coercion Acts, has been tried, but Irish disaffection and lawlessness still exist. Assuredly the time for a new departure has arrived—the time for conceding with grace and doing justice with completeness.

* The Marquess of Wellesley.

† The Church Act excepted. It was a complete measure of justice in conception and in results. It wholly removed the grievance, and obliterated even the memory of wrong associated with it.

*MR. LECKY ON HOME RULE.**

MR. LECKY has followed up the attack which he made on the Irish National movement at the Town Hall, Kensington, on St. Patrick's Day last,† by a powerful article in the current number of the *Nineteenth Century*,‡ condemning the concession of Home Rule to Ireland in any shape or form.

We desire to discuss this question of Legislative Independence with Mr. Lecky in a friendly spirit. No difference of opinion, even on the vital question now at issue, shall tempt us to forget how much the students of Irish history owe to the author of the "Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland" and the "History of England in the Eighteenth Century." Mr. Lecky the historian must never be forgotten in Mr. Lecky the politician, and his severance from the National cause must be regarded without irritation, if with regret and pain. Mr. Lecky was once a Home Ruler. He once declared that it "should be the aim of every statesman to give to Ireland

* *Freeman's Journal*, April 27, 1886.
† March 17, 1886. ‡ April, 1886.

the greatest amount of self-government that is compatible with the unity and the security of the Empire." * This is his opinion no longer.

Why has he changed his opinion? Mr. Lecky is an ardent admirer of Grattan's Parliament. So far as we can gather from his article he would not object to the re-establishment of Grattan's Parliament now, if its essential features could be restored.

Those features Mr. Lecky describes thus:—"It was," he says, "altogether Protestant. . . . It was drawn entirely from the section of the community which was indisputably loyal, and it was probably more eminently and specially the representative of property than any legislature that is now existing in the world." † In fact, if we understand Mr. Lecky aright, he would be in favour of Home Rule if a Protestant Landlord Parliament could be established; and this not from any feeling of bigotry—for Mr. Lecky, we need scarcely say to any one acquainted with his writings, is no bigot—but because he thinks that the loyalty of a Catholic Democratic Parliament could not be depended upon. He makes his meaning on this matter very clear. He says, ". . . It is evident that while the old Parliament was essentially the Parliament of the Irish Loyalists, the Parliament which is now desired would be essentially a

* "Leaders of Public Opinion"—Introduction, p. xix.

† *Nineteenth Century*, April, 1886, p. 636.

Parliament of the disaffected. It would be in all probability a single Democratic Chamber, elected chiefly by an anti-English peasantry, completely sundered from the great interests of property in the country, consisting mainly of the nominees of the National League." Here we have a statement of fact and a prophecy — namely, that "Grattan's Parliament" was drawn entirely from the section of the community which is indisputably loyal, and that the new Parliament would be drawn from the section of the community which is indisputably disloyal. In the first place, is Mr. Lecky right in his facts? Is it true that Grattan's Parliament "was entirely drawn from the section of the community which was indisputably loyal?" Grattan's Parliament was drawn from the section of the community to which the Volunteers belonged. It was established by the Volunteers. Were the Volunteers "indisputably loyal"? We shall endeavour to answer this question with the help of Mr. Lecky. At p. 80 of the "Leaders of Public Opinion" he says that the Volunteers "rose to defend their country alike from the invasion of a foreign army and from the encroachments of an alien Legislature." That is to say, they were prepared to fight America or France for national independence, and they were prepared to fight England for legislative independence. Can this be described as indisputable loyalty in a sense

agreeable to Englishmen? At p. 81 Mr. Lecky continues: "The voice of the Volunteers soon spoke, in no equivocal terms, on Irish politics. They resolved that 'Citizens, by learning the use of arms, forfeit none of their civil rights;' and they formed themselves into a regular convention, with delegates and organization, for the purpose of discussing the condition of the country. Their denunciations of the commercial and legislative restrictions grew louder and louder, and two cannons were shown labelled with the inscription 'Free Trade or This!'" Suppose the National League showed two cannons labelled with the inscription "Home Rule or This!" would Mr. Lecky regard the demonstration as "indisputably loyal"?

At pp. 82, 83 Mr. Lecky says, "The Irish were in arms, and they demanded nothing less than to be placed on the same footing with the English. Numerous meetings were held and resolutions were adopted, pledging the people neither to import or consume any article of English manufacture till the commercial restrictions were removed. . . . The House went in a body to present their petition to the Lord-Lieutenant, and the Volunteers lined the road and presented arms to them as they passed. The due emphasis was thus supplied to their request, and Lord North soon after brought forward in England a series of measures which

removed the chief grievances that were complained of." We scarcely think that Englishmen will be disposed to say that the "due emphasis" was "supplied" on this occasion in an "indisputably loyal" fashion; nor will they be apt to find much evidence of loyalty in what follows. "Grattan alone," says Mr. Lecky (p. 112), "drew up another resolution, expressing the gratification with which the Volunteers had witnessed the relaxation of the penal code. It is scarcely possible to exaggerate the importance of this last resolution. It marked the solemn union between the two great sections of Irishmen for the purpose of obtaining the recognition of their country's rights. It showed that the old policy of governing Ireland by the division of her sects had failed; and that if the independence of Parliament were to be withheld it must be withheld in opposition to a nation united and in arms. The Government at length yielded. At the last moment an effort was made to procure a delay, but Grattan refused to grant it; on April 16, 1782, amid an outburst of almost unparalleled enthusiasm, the declaration of independence was brought forward. On that day a large body of the Volunteers was drawn up in front of the old Parliament House of Ireland. Far as the eye could stretch the morning sun glanced upon their flags; and it was through their parted ranks that Grattan passed to move the emancipation of his

country." The situation thus described in prose by Mr. Lecky has been faithfully pictured in poetry by Thomas Davis :—

> "When Grattan rose none dared oppose
> The claims he made for freedom ;
> They knew our swords to back his words
> Were ready did he need them.
>
> * * * * *
>
> "Remember still, through good and ill,
> How vain were prayer and tears—
> How vain were words till flashed the swords
> Of the Irish Volunteers."

We submit that men who obtain concessions with arms in their hands, who plant cannon in the streets, and hold out threats of war if their demands are withheld, cannot be called "indisputably loyal." Yet these things were done by "the section of the community" from which "Grattan's Parliament was drawn." But is not the real truth this : the Volunteers were loyal to the English connection, but disloyal to the English Parliament? And is Mr. Lecky in a position to disprove that such is the attitude of the masses of the Irish people to-day? There may, no doubt, be men in Ireland who are rebels to the English connection altogether. But were there not such men also in the days of Grattan's Parliament, and did they not belong to the section of the community from which that Parliament was drawn? Witness Wolfe Tone, the Sheares—whose father was a member of the Irish Parliament—the

Emmetts—whose father was a State Physician—and Parson Jackson, who, curiously enough, was the first man indicted for high treason in Ireland since the Revolution. In fact, the Volunteers, who were rebels to the English Parliament, belonged exclusively to the section of the community from which Grattan's Parliament was drawn, and the United Irishmen, who were rebels to the English connection altogether, belonged partly to it. Therefore, it is idle for Mr. Lecky to attempt to justify himself in supporting Grattan's Parliament, and resisting Home Rule on the plea that the Irish Protestants of the eighteenth century were "indisputably loyal." But does Mr. Lecky think that there is something particularly rebellious in the blood of a Catholic, and that the Catholic members of an Irish Parliament would, by virtue of their religion, be "rebels"? We are sure he does not think anything of the kind, though his article might lead those who are unfamiliar with his works to believe that he did. Mr. Lecky knows very well that the foremost of the Irish Catholic leaders were staunchly loyal to the English connection. Witness Curry, Wyse, O'Conor, John Keogh, and Daniel O'Connell. In fact, it is notorious that almost all the great Irish rebels have been Protestant, almost all the great constitutional leaders Catholics. At p. 141 of "The Leaders of Public Opinion" Mr. Lecky says, referring to the French Revolution, "Its adherents in Ireland were at first

chiefly Protestants. What little Republicanism existed in Ireland was mainly among the Presbyterians of Ulster. Wexford was the only county where the rebellion was distinctly Roman Catholic, and even there Bagenal Harvey, its leader, was a Protestant." At p. 148 he says, "The mass of the Catholics were, no doubt, considerably and most naturally discontented, but their leaning was strongly towards authority, and the contagion of the disloyal spirit that was agitating the Presbyterians of the north did not seriously affect them till the recall of Lord Fitz-William. On this point we have the evidence of the most competent of witnesses, the three leaders of the United Irishmen. . . . 'Whatever progress this United system had made amongst Presbyterians of the north,' they said, 'it had, as we apprehend, made but little way amongst the Catholics until the recall of Lord Fitz-William.'" Mr. Lecky adds, "But it was not in human nature that the loyalty of the Catholics should survive the administration of Lord Fitz-William. Their hopes had been raised to the highest pitch; the language and demeanour of the Sovereign had been equivalent to a pledge that they would be relieved of their disqualifications; they could point with pride to their perfect loyalty for the space of a hundred years, in spite of penal laws, of the rebellions of 1715, of 1745, and of the revolt of the colonies; they had won to their cause the immense

majority of their Protestant fellow-countrymen, and had advanced to the very threshold of the Constitution, when the English Minister interposed to blight their prospects, and exerted all the influence of the Government against them."

We might multiply quotations to show that Mr. Lecky has no fear of the Catholics as Catholics, but it is not necessary. In fact, it is clear that Mr. Lecky's sympathies are entirely with the Catholics. Had he been in Grattan's Parliament in 1793, how would he have voted on the franchise question? Assuredly with the Catholics. In the very article before us he refers with pride to the "signal liberality" of the Protestants in admitting "the Catholics to the franchise" in 1793,* and throughout all his writing on Ireland he shows a marked sympathy for his Catholic fellow-countrymen. "The Irish," he says, "have not generally been an intolerant or persecuting people. The early history of the introduction of Christianity into Ireland, though not, as has been said, bloodless, was at least unusually pacific, and it was an old reproach against Irishmen that their country, which had produced innumerable saints, had produced no martyr. During the atrocious persecutions of Mary, the English Protestants were perfectly unmolested in Ireland. The massacre of Protestants in 1642 was so little due to religious causes that the only English-

* Page 636.

man of eminence who was treated by the rebels with reverence and care was Bishop Bedell, who was one of the most energetic Protestants of the age, and the first Irish bishop who attempted to proselytize among the Catholics. The Irish people have always been more superstitious than the English, and, perhaps, than the Scotch, but their superstitions have usually taken a milder form. Many hundreds of unhappy women have perished on the charge of witchcraft both in England and Scotland since the Reformation, but I am not aware of the witch mania having raged in Ireland to a degree at all comparable to that in England under James I. and the Puritans, and in Scotland during a great part of the seventeenth century. Whatever animosity the penal laws produced had in a great measure subsided towards the end of the eighteenth century, and it would be difficult to find in any country more moderate or liberal members of their respective faiths than Kirwan, the greatest preacher among the Irish Protestants, and Father O'Leary, the greatest writer amongst the Irish Catholics." *

In brief, it is not the Irish Catholics, but the Irish democracy, which Mr. Lecky fears. But if Grattan's Parliament had continued to exist down to our own time, does Mr. Lecky think that it would have still preserved its aristocratic character? For good or for bad there has been a democratic movement in

* "Leaders of Public Opinion," pp. 214, 215.

these islands for the past half-century. The English House of Commons is largely democratic to-day, and must, under the existing franchises, become more democratic as time rolls on. Why should Mr. Lecky expect that Grattan's Parliament would have moved on different lines from its English prototype? If Mr. Lecky objects to an Irish Parliament because it would be democratic, he must object to the liberal tendencies of the age—that is to say, he must do the thing for which he has censured writers like Mr. Froude. "The two fundamental principles of all constitutional government—that the will of the majority should rule, and that the scruples of minority should be respected—are equally antipathetic to [such writers]," Mr. Lecky says in his review of Mr. Froude's "English in Ireland," in *Macmillan's Magazine* for January, 1873. But the effect of allowing the "majority to rule" in Ireland is to throw power into the hands of the Catholics, as the effect of allowing the majority to rule in England is to throw power into the hands of the Protestants; and both in England and in Ireland, at the present day, democracy is growing in influence, and its growth can only be checked by a return to the system of government by minorities which was in vogue fifty or a hundred years ago. Does Mr. Lecky advocate a return to this system? We fancy not. But is it possible that Mr. Lecky has faith in an English but not in an

Irish Democracy? We cannot believe this either. The whole tendency of Mr. Lecky's writings on Ireland is to show that he has faith in the masses of his fellow-countrymen. His review in *Macmillan's*, to which we have referred, is a powerful defence of the Irish people—Catholics and peasants—from the attacks of Mr. Froude. He singles out as specially fit for condemnation Mr. Froude's statement that the Irish are a people "incapable of self-government;" that "the worst means of governing them is to give them their own way;" that "in concessions they see only fear;" that "coercion succeeds better." He also condemns the general principles laid down by Mr. Froude, who utterly rejects the notion that the will of the nation should, on political questions, be consulted, or that there is anything unrighteous or criminal in forcing upon a people a form of government which they hate.* Assuredly Mr. Lecky has not changed his views about Ireland since this review was written; and yet nothing is clearer than that, if the "will" of the Irish nation is not "consulted," and the "concession" of Home Rule is not now granted, Ireland must be coerced as even she has never been coerced before. Is Mr. Lecky prepared to coerce? Is he prepared to govern Ireland on the lines laid down by Mr. Froude—for this is the alternative policy to Home Rule?

* *Macmillan*, 1873.

We sympathize with Mr. Lecky in regretting that the Irish gentry, Catholic and Protestant, have lost their influence in the country; but who is to blame for this? Assuredly the gentry themselves. There is nothing more melancholy in the history of Ireland than the manner in which the gentry have, as a rule, shrunk from taking a vigorous part in popular movements. The movement of 1782 was unquestionably led by the Protestant gentry of Ireland; and were they not faithfully followed by the masses of the nation, so far as the masses were permitted to follow them? But in the two great struggles which succeeded 1782—the struggle for the franchise in 1793, and the struggle for Catholic Emancipation—where were the gentry? The Catholic merchant, John Keogh, and the Protestant rebel, Wolfe Tone, fought and won the battle of the franchise unaided in the main by the gentry, Protestant or Catholic. In 1782 the Irish House of Commons rejected the Catholic petition by 208 to 27 votes, and only yielded in 1793 under the pressure of the English Cabinet, who had been startled by the rebellious demonstrations of the United Irishmen. Of the behaviour of the Catholic gentry at this time we have an account from John Keogh himself. "The exertions of the Catholic aristocracy," he says, "were directly opposed to our seeking redress. . . . We were scoffed at and opposed by our own nobility and gentry. The

hostile spirit of the Irish Government met in the aristocracy of the Catholics very active, very zealous, but certainly not very able partisans."

And how did the gentry act at the Clare election in 1828, when, it is scarcely an exaggeration to say, the destinies of the country hung in the balance?

They voted to a man against O'Connell. "'I have polled all the gentry and all the £50 freeholders,' wrote Mr. Fitzgerald to Sir Robert Peel, when giving an account of his defeat; 'the gentry to a man.' The attitude which the landlord class afterwards assumed during the agitation for Repeal completed the change, and they have never regained their old position."* Just so. The "attitude" which the gentry have, as a rule, assumed on Irish questions for the past fifty years has led to the decline of their influence in Irish politics. This is to be regretted, but it is not the fault of the Irish people. It would be impossible for Mr. Lecky to point to a single great measure of justice to Ireland which has been placed on the statute-book by the exertions of the Irish gentry—which, indeed, has not been opposed by them. But it is not too late for the Irish gentry to regain their influence. There is not a people in the world who more earnestly desire to follow a leader of the "gentle" class than do the Irish people. The gentry have lost their power by neglecting the people, by abandoning the National cause. They

* "Leaders of Public Opinion," p. 254.

can regain it by entering the popular ranks, and respecting the National sentiment.

Mr. Lecky is opposed to Home Rule. But has he an alternative plan?

How is the government of Ireland to be carried on? That is the question of the hour. It is not sufficient for Mr. Lecky to dwell upon the disease; he must propose a remedy. Ireland, he says, is disaffected. She is in the hands of men whom he regards as rebels. But what is Mr. Lecky's cure for this state of things? Five-sixths of the Irish representatives demand an Irish Parliament. Mr. Lecky says this demand is to be refused, and there he leaves the matter. But the Irish people will not leave it there. Mr. Lecky must go further. He must be prepared to meet a renewed agitation in Ireland in the event of the popular demands being rejected. How is he going to meet it? By a stringent Coercion Act? But what is the use of a Coercion Act while eighty-six, or it may be ninety, Irish members are present at Westminster to worry the life out of the Minister who has to enforce it? To govern a country by Coercion through the instrumentality of Parliamentary institutions is the rankest folly imaginable, and the history of Ireland, since the Union, proves this beyond all rational doubt. If there is to be coercion, it must be enforced in the Russian fashion. There must be an autocrat in Ireland who can

shut men up in jails, and who shall not be subjected to the criticism of a democratic House of Commons. What a mockery of government it would be to send a ruler to Ireland invested with all the powers of a Russian autocrat, and then to subject him to the attacks of an Irish representation elected on household suffrage! We beg Mr. Lecky to consider this. We beg every Liberal who opposes Mr. Gladstone's scheme to take it to heart. It is out of the question that a hostile population can be governed through Parliamentary institutions. You must make up your minds to abolish these institutions or to give your subjects their head. "So long," says Mr. Froude, in the "English in Ireland," "as the consent of the governed is recognized as essential to the legitimacy of authority, so long, and so far, Ireland will possess a grievance which only complete separation will remove." This is an honest and straightforward statement. Is Mr. Lecky prepared to stand by it? We shall answer this question in Mr. Lecky's own words. Referring to this very sentence of Mr. Froude, Mr. Lecky says in *Macmillan's Magazine*,* "We hope these words are much exaggerated, and should be much qualified. If they are true we cannot but regard them as the most striking condemnation of the past government of Ireland, as supplying one of

* January, 1873.

the strongest reasons why English writers, in speaking on Irish questions, should employ language of moderation and conciliation. A government of pure despotism has, however, nothing revolting in it to Mr. Froude. His views of the relation of the governed to their rulers are much the same as those of Bishop Horsley, whose famous saying, that 'he knew not what subjects had to say to the laws except to obey them,' was long cited as a supreme example of the servility of a certain class of Anglican divines, and of their hatred of the free Constitution under which they live. 'The consent of man,' says Mr. Froude, 'was not asked when he was born into the world; his consent will not be asked when his time comes to die. As little has his consent to do with the laws which, while he lives, he is bound to obey.' We must acknowledge ourselves unable to understand why the fact that man is not consulted at his birth or at his death should preclude him from having any voice in the laws which dispose of his property and regulate his destiny while he lives. But the general meaning of the passage is at least sufficiently manifest. It is the theory of despotism stated in the barest and most emphatic form, and that such a doctrine should be propounded by an English writer of the eminence of Mr. Froude is certainly a fact well worthy of record." True. But should Mr. Lecky's opinions prevail, should the demands

of the Irish people for an Irish Parliament be refused, Ireland must be governed by a despotism if "law and order" are to be maintained in any shape or form in the island. We say emphatically there is no middle course between the government of Ireland according to the views of Mr. Froude, and the government of Ireland according to the views of Mr. Gladstone, as expressed in his Home Rule Bill. And Mr. Lecky must be prepared to take his stand by Mr. Gladstone and Constitutional Government, or by Mr. Froude and pure despotism.

But upon what grounds does Mr. Lecky base his prophecy that an Irish Parliament will rush into separation? Is there anything in the past history of the country to justify this prognostication? It must not be assumed that because the Irish people are disaffected when their demands are denied they will continue to be disaffected when those demands are fully and freely conceded; and full and free concessions to Ireland have never yet been granted. The history of Ireland since the Revolution proves that the Irish people are disposed to be loyal to the English connection if their just demands are satisfied. The first Irish Catholic agitators—Curry, Wyse, O'Conor—were, as we have said, loyal to the connection. Mr. Lecky himself calls attention to the fact that "in spite of the penal laws, of the rebellions of 1715, of 1745, and of the revolt of the colonies," the Catholics assumed an attitude of

"perfect loyalty" up to the recall of Earl Fitz-William. The rebels of 1782 and 1798 were mainly Protestants. O'Connell, the great Catholic agitator, detested revolution, and succeeded in uprooting the rebellious doctrines of Wolfe Tone. Ireland was perfectly loyal to the English connection on the fall of the Melbourne Ministry in 1841, because Lord Melbourne had striven to govern the country in accordance with the wishes of the people. The spirit of rebellion was revived by Davis, Duffy, and Mitchel, and though Duffy is a Catholic, it is no exaggeration to say that the Young Ireland movement was, to all intents and purposes, Protestant; and a similar observation may be made of the Fenian movement. So far as the Irish people are rebellious, they have been made so by English misgovernment, by the denial of their just demands, by the disregard of the national sentiment. Mr. Lecky tells us that the Catholics were loyal until the recall of Lord Fitz-William. They then became rebellious, and Mr. Lecky justifies their rebellion. They were loyal during the leadership of O'Connell; they afterwards became rebellious, because the constitutional efforts of the great agitator had failed to obtain complete justice for Ireland.

After the failure of the Young Ireland movement they readily entered upon the work of constitutional agitation again, and Fenianism only became a power when constitutional agitation proved abortive.

"Ireland against the English!" has certainly often been the prevailing cry in our island. Why? Because England would not hearken to the other cry, "Ireland for the Irish!" Will she hearken to it now? Will the struggle of centuries be closed on the equitable terms of Home Rule for Ireland and Ireland for the Empire? Will the English people follow the lead of the greatest statesman that England has produced since the days of Pitt? Will they accept his plan for the government of Ireland —the plan which "holds the field"—or will they let the Irish question drift? Will they put an end to the Irish representation altogether, and govern the country as a Crown colony? Will they wait, as Mr. Lecky seems to think they ought to wait, "some crushing military disaster like Jena or Sedan," before conceding the Irish demands? These are the questions of the hour, and the civilized world awaits the answer which within the next few weeks shall be given to them. May that answer be such as will give peace to Ireland and strength to the Empire; such as will prove that England is not afraid freely to make one great act of reparation for the past; is ready to allow Irish affairs to be managed by Irishmen in accordance with Irish opinion and feeling; is, in fact, at last willing to respect that "sentiment of nationality" which Mr. Lecky once declared lay "at the root of Irish discontent."

*MR. GOLDWIN SMITH; PAST AND PRESENT.**

MR. GOLDWIN SMITH has recently fallen into the habit of denouncing the Irish people with much energy. Almost all the misfortunes of Ireland are, he apparently thinks, ascribable to the inherent depravity of the Irish Celt and the unredeemed scoundrelism of the Irish agitator. There is but one bright spot, he says, in the vast wilderness of Irish barbarism, and that spot is in Ulster. Ulster is civilized because it is Teutonic, and the agitator has no foothold there. The other provinces are barbarous because they are Celtic, and under the influence of a "vitriol press" and a gang of sanguinary demagogues. History has really had little to do with Irish discontent and Irish hatred of England; and Mr. Smith is greatly exercised lest "in the day of battle," at the next general election, "the national conscience" should allow "a fancied burden of historical guilt" to "sit heavy on the spirit of the nation." The strained relations between England and Ireland at the present day are

* *Fortnightly Review*, February, 1884.

not, he seems to urge, so much a question of history as of race and demagogism, and what is now most wanting, in his opinion, is the suppression of the demagogue and "the working of the savage clansman out of the Irishman's character." How the demagogue is to be suppressed, or how the "savage clansman is to be worked out of the Irishman's character," Mr. Smith does not precisely tell us, but until both these ends are achieved he thinks it will be necessary to adopt what he himself once described as "the irrelevant remedy of coercion."* In Land Acts or Reform Bills, in securing to the Irish tenant the fruits of his industry, in the equalization of the franchise in both countries, or in the extension of local self-government in Ireland, he has no faith. Indeed, he seems to think that measures of this kind have a mischievous tendency, because they are calculated to "root the Celt in the soil;" and one of his chief complaints against England to-day is that she is "responsible for the preservation of the Celtic race in Ireland." It is the policy of Oliver Cromwell, and not the policy of Mr. Gladstone, that finds favour in the eyes of Mr. Goldwin Smith.

These, in brief, are, as I gather from his recent publications,† the views of Mr. Smith on Ireland

* "Irish History and Irish Character," p. 184.

† See Mr. Smith's articles in the *Nineteenth Century* for July, 1882, and June, 1883; and his article in the *Fortnightly Review* for January, 1884; also a letter in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, March 23, 1882.

and the Irish. But he did not always hold these views. He did not always regard the Irish Celts as the vile race he now depicts them. He did not always ascribe Irish discontent and Irish hatred of England to the plots and intrigues of unscrupulous agitators; and what one would like to ask (if the question be not impertinent) is when and why did Mr. Goldwin Smith change his views on Irish matters? The historical facts on which he based his old views still remain the same. What are the new facts on which he has formed his new opinions? Awaiting any answer which Mr. Smith may deem it worth while to give to this question, I shall, in the mean time, inform such persons as may not be familiar with his works upon the subject what he thought and wrote about Ireland not very many years ago.

In his interesting work, "Irish History and Irish Character," published in 1861, he tells us (at page 13) that "there seems no good reason for believing that the Irish Kelts are averse from labour, provided they be placed, as people of all races require to be placed, for at least two or three generations, in circumstances favourable to industry." May I here ask Mr. Smith if, in his judgment, the "Irish Kelts" have been placed "for two or three generations in circumstances favourable to industry"? And if he be of that opinion, may I take the further liberty of requesting him to fix the precise

date at which they were so placed? At the same page of the same book he continues, "It has been well said of their [the Irish] past industrial character and history, 'We were reckless, ignorant, improvident, drunken, and idle. We were idle, for we had nothing to do; we were reckless, for we had no hope; we were ignorant, for learning was denied us; we were improvident, for we had no future; we were drunken, for we sought to forget our misery.' No part of this defence, probably, is more true than that which connects the drunkenness of the Irish people with their misery. Drunkenness is, generally speaking, the vice of despair; and it springs from the despair of the English peasant as rankly as from that of his Irish fellow. The sums of money which have lately been transmitted by Irish emigrants to their friends in Ireland seem a conclusive answer to much loose denunciation of the national character, both in a moral and an industrial point of view." So wrote Mr. Smith in 1861. Yet there are few men at the present day who indulge in more "loose denunciation" of the Irish "national character" than he does. He has recently described the Irish Celts as a "fatal" and "degrading" element." * But he said of them in 1861, "The two races [Saxon and Celt] blended together may well be expected to

* Article in the *Nineteenth Century*, entitled "Why send more Irish to America?" June, 1883.

produce a great and gifted nation; and it would probably detract from our greatness, and from the richness of our national gifts, if the Keltic element should be too much drained away by unlimited emigration." * Nevertheless, Mr. Smith seems now to be the staunch advocate of (practically) unlimited emigration, provided the stream be turned away from Canada, where, he seems to think, an influx of Irish emigrants would tend to degrade the population.†

So much with reference to Mr. Smith's views—present and past—of the "Irish Kelt." Next with reference to his opinions respecting the cause of Irish discontent and hatred of England. He has recently‡ written an article in the *Fortnightly Review* for the express purpose of "removing" from the "national conscience a fancied burden of historical guilt" on the subject of Ireland; and in answer to the question which he asks on page 46, viz. "Why, then, do the Irish hate England?" he ignores the testimony of history, and throws the chief blame on the agitators. But let us see what he had to say less than twenty years ago with reference to the connection between Irish history and Irish discontent and crime.

In his "Three English Statesmen," published in

* "Irish History and Irish Character," p. 21.

† Article in the *Nineteenth Century*, "Why send more Irish to America?" June, 1883.

‡ This article was written in February, 1884.

1867, he says (at p. 274), "I have myself sought and found in the study of Irish history the explanation of the paradox that a people with so many gifts, so amiable, naturally so submissive to rulers, and everywhere but in their own country industrious, are in their own country bywords of idleness, disaffection, and agrarian crime." How comes it, may I ask, that Mr. Smith in 1884 thinks that Irish "disaffection" and "agrarian crime" spring from agitation, whereas in 1867 he "found in the study of Irish history" the cause of their existence? Has Mr. Smith given up the study of Irish history since 1867, or has he forgotten it, or found that he had then read it amiss? At present Mr. Smith will not make the slightest allowance for Irish misdeeds, because, apparently, he regards the Irish Celt as an inherently lawless being—the mere prey of the agitator—a creature quite impervious to the influences of civilization. But formerly he used to be an apologist, on "historical grounds," for Irish disaffection and lawlessness. Thus, in his "Irish History and Irish Character," he writes (at p. 70), "Those who are disposed to regard the Irish as inherently lawless will do well to remember the historical relations between the people and the English law;" and he adds (at p. 194), "Justice requires that allowance should be made on historical grounds for the failings of the Irish people. If they are wanting in industry,

in regard for the rights of property, in reverence for the law, history furnishes a full explanation of their defects. . . . They have never had the advantage of the training through which other nations have passed in their gradual rise from barbarism to civilization. The progress of the Irish people was arrested at an almost primitive stage, and a series of calamities, following close upon each other, have prevented it from ever fairly resuming its course." "How many centuries," he again pregnantly adds (p. 142), "of a widely different training have the English people gone through in order to acquire their boasted love of law!" Indeed, Mr. Smith did not, apparently, think that the Irish could reasonably be expected to love or reverence the law at all; and he used some strong language on this subject. "A people," he said, with a fine burst of indignation, "cannot be expected to love and reverence oppression because it is consigned to the statute-book and called law."

With respect to the kind of "law" which "a people" could not be "expected to love and reverence," here is what Mr. Smith says (after referring * to the "high-handed violence," "the mean and most infamous chicane," by which the ancient race "was disinherited"): "It is safe to observe that no want of respect for property is shown by the Irish people if a proprietorship which had its origin,

* "Irish History and Irish Character," p. 101.

within historical memory, in flagrant wrong is less sacred in their eyes than it would be if it had its origin in immemorial right." He then lets the Irish Teutonic landlords "have it" pretty much as he is now letting the Irish Celtic tenants "have it." "The habits of the Irish gentry," he says, "grew beyond measure brutal and reckless, and the coarseness of their debaucheries would have disgusted the crew of Comus. Their drunkenness, their blasphemy, their ferocious duelling, left the squires of England far behind. If there was a grotesque side to their vices which mingled laughter with reprobation, this did not render their influence less pestilent to the community of which the malice of destiny had made them the social chiefs. Fortunately their recklessness was sure, in the end, to work to a certain extent its own cure, and in the background of their swinish and uproarious drinking bouts the Encumbered Estates Act rises to our view." I shall quote one more extract illustrative of Mr. Smith's views as to the causes of Irish disaffection, misery, and crime, and then pass to the consideration of the remedies which he proposed for their removal. Referring to "modern Irish agrarianism," he says, "Has property in land, according to the English system, presented itself [to the Irish peasant] in the form of security, independence, domestic happiness, dignity, and hope? Has it not rather presented

itself to him in the form of insecurity, degradation, and despair? It would be too much to say that modern Irish agrarianism is the direct offspring of primitive Irish institutions; but it is not too much to say that even modern Irish agrarianism is rather the offspring of a barbarism prolonged by unhappy circumstances and bad government than by anything more deserving of unqualified indignation." *

As Mr. Smith had decided views respecting the causes of Irish disaffection, he had also decided views respecting the remedies which ought to be used for their removal. He thought that up to 1829 the government of Ireland had been miserably bad; but he considered that between 1829 and 1868 something had been done—though not enough, nor nearly enough—to ameliorate the condition of the people, and he wisely warned impatient and ignorant politicians not to indulge in the illusion that "the accumulated effects of so many unhappy centuries" could "be removed at once by a wave of the legislator's wand." † He also pointed out that the legislation which has taken place between 1829 and 1868 "had failed through the indifference of Parliament to the sentiments of Irishmen," ‡ and he urged that before Ireland could be tranquillized these sentiments should be respected and recognized. "The chief malady of Ireland," he said,

* "Irish History and Irish Character," pp. 20, 21. † Ibid.
‡ "The Irish Question" (published in 1868), Preface, p. 1.

"is the void created in the national heart by the want of any institutions commanding the reverence, love, or confidence of the nation, and the only cure for the malady, I repeat, is such a measure of decentralization as will satisfy the national aspirations."* He then proposed, as *the* "measure of decentralization" which would "satisfy the national aspirations"—(having premised that the Church "must go" and the Land Laws be reformed)—

"1. The residence of the Court in Dublin."

"2. An occasional session (say once in every three years) of the Imperial Parliament in Dublin."

"3. A liberal measure of local self-government."

Such was Mr. Goldwin Smith's plan in 1868 for the regeneration of Ireland.

Assuredly it may be suggested that Mr. Smith might have awaited the trial of his own "cure" before "rounding" on a people with whom he once sympathized, and whose misfortunes and misdeeds he ascribed to the "accumulated effects" of "centuries" of "unhappy circumstances" and "bad government." He is scarcely just to himself in ascribing Irish disaffection to Irish agitation, when the remedies which he proposed as the "only cure" for that disaffection have not yet been tried.

It would seem that Mr. Smith is no longer a "liberal local self-government" reformer nor a "bit" of a Home Ruler. "Emigration," he now

* "The Irish Question," Preface, p. 1.

says, "is the true remedy," * as he formerly said that "institutions commanding the confidence of the [Irish] nation" were "the only cure." What guarantee have we, may I ask, that he will not change his opinions again to-morrow, and tell us that the one remedy for Irish discontent is the restoration of the Heptarchy, or the crowning of Mr. Biggar as King of Ireland on the Hill of Tara?

Let me end as I began, by asking, What are the new facts on which Mr. Smith has formed his new views respecting Irish discontent and hatred of England. The old facts on which his old opinions were based remain, I repeat, the same. The centuries of English misrule; the confiscations and "rooting-out" policies of the Tudors and the Stuarts, of Cromwell and William III.; the penal laws; the abominable proselytizing institutions which were supported by Parliament up to 1832; the atrocities of 1795–1798; the broken pledge to the Catholics in 1800; the non-fulfilment of that pledge until 1829, when Emancipation was wrung almost by force of arms from a reluctant Government; the vindictive disfranchisement of the 40*s*. freeholders; the mean and spiteful effort to punish O'Connell because he had liberated his countrymen; the practical abrogation of the

* "Why send more Irish to America?" *Nineteenth Century*, June, 1883, p. 915.

Catholic Relief Act until the accession of the Melbourne Ministry to office in 1835; the "indifference to Irish sentiment" shown in the passing of the Irish Reform Bill of 1832 by the rejection of every amendment proposed by O'Connell; the unfair surrenders in the matter of the national schools to the Presbyterian and Ascendency parties—surrenders which largely justified the subsequent hostility of Archbishop MacHale and the Catholic clergy; the extremely inadequate measure of Tithe Relief, passed after a fierce and sanguinary struggle in 1838; the scornful rejection by the English people of O'Connell's offer in 1835–1841 to let bygones be bygones, and be as one nation for the future; the maintenance up to our own day of the Irish Established Church, and a system of land laws under which the tenant was robbed of the fruits of his industry and held in a state of barbarizing bondage;—these things, with their bitter memories, remain historical realities in 1884 as they were in 1867. Why, then, does Mr. Goldwin Smith now ignore the "Irish history" which, in 1867, he said "furnished a full explanation of the defects" of the Irish character? Perhaps he will answer, "Because the Irish Protestant Church has been disestablished since, and two great Land Acts have been passed, yet the Irish do not settle down into a state of complete tranquillity." To this I reply, in Mr. Smith's own

words, "The accumulated effects of so many unhappy centuries cannot be removed at once by a wave of the legislator's wand," even though that "wand" be "waved" by so potent a legislator as Mr. Gladstone.

THE IRISH QUESTION.

A Historical Retrospect and Summary.

For two hundred years (to go no further back) there have been three conflicting interests in Ireland—the English, the colonial, the Irish. The history of those interests is the history of the Irish question. It may be briefly summarized.

Stage I. 1691–1778.

Ireland was completely conquered by William III. in 1691. The act of conquest was followed by a policy of exasperation. The Penal Code was passed. The native race was degraded. The country was entirely governed in the interest of an English colony, and Irishmen, as an English judge of the time said, were only known to the laws for purposes of punishment.*

Stage II. 1778–1800.

About eighty-five years after the conquest of Ireland by William III., serious difficulties arose

* Lord Chancellor Bowes.

between England and her Irish colonists. The colonists wished to have Ireland to themselves. They desired to make their own laws, to develop the industries of the country, and to be free from English interference in domestic concerns. In a word, they wanted Home Rule. England would not give them Home Rule. She wished to govern Ireland purely in English interests. The colonists wished to govern Ireland in colonial interests. The Irish desired to be rid both of the colonists and of England, especially of England. England distrusted colonists and Irish alike, and wished to keep both in a state of subjection. Under these circumstances, the native race gradually became an important factor in Irish politics. The colonists required their help to resist English oppression, and the English required it to suppress colonial rebellion. The colonists demanded Free Trade. England refused it. The American war broke out. The colonists armed for self-defence, and in their need stretched out a hand of friendship to the native race. England, alarmed at the attitude of the colonists, and hampered by her American difficulties, also stretched out a hand of friendship in the same direction. In the result the native race obtained (in 1778) an important concession—the right to hold landed property—and the colonists, who had threatened war against the mother country if their claims were not granted,

obtained Free Trade (1779). The colonists next demanded legislative independence, and the native race sympathized with their efforts to obtain it. England again refused. The colonists again threatened war, and armed the natives. England again gave way, and the Constitution of 1782 was established. The colonists, having sought the assistance of the natives to obtain a free Parliament, still shut them out from it, and even for a time kept them deprived of the elective franchise. The result was a hostile feeling between natives and colonists, which England used for the purpose of playing off one against the other and subduing both. In 1790 the native Irish demanded the elective franchise. The colonial Parliament refused the boon. Wolfe Tone, the Separatist leader, suddenly appeared upon the scene. He advised the native race to act towards the colonists as the colonists had acted towards England in 1779 and 1782—to arm and prepare for war. The natives showed a reluctance to adopt this advice, and Tone turned from them to the Scotch colonists of Ulster, who were also excluded from Parliament. These Ulster settlers took the "rebel" Tone to their bosom. They prepared for war, and showed a readiness to make the cause of the native race their own. The native race, however, under the leadership of John Keogh, approached Parliament loyally, and showed a determination to fight the battle of the franchise

on constitutional lines. The colonial Parliament raised the cry of "No surrender!" and looked to England for help. At first England supported the Parliament. Then Keogh united his forces with Tone's; and the constitutional natives and the rebellious Ulster colonists worked together for the common object of popular enfranchisement. England was disturbed at this alliance, and further embarrassed by troubles which soon arose on the Continent of Europe. The French revolutionists had defeated the allies of England at the decisive battle of Valmy (1792), and a general war seemed imminent. In this emergency England conceded the popular demands, bore down the opposition of the colonial Parliament, and admitted the native population to the elective franchise (1793). The alliance between John Keogh and Wolfe Tone was then broken up. The former still continued to work on constitutional lines for the complete emancipation of his fellow-countrymen, while the latter prepared steadily for war, with the object of severing the connection between the two countries. The colonial Parliament opposed alike the fresh demands of the natives and the treason of the Ulster colonists. Tone laboured once more to draw the native race into his organization. Keogh struggled as strenuously to keep them out of it. In this condition of affairs England again showed a disposition rather to conciliate the

natives than to stand by the colonists. In 1795 Earl Fitz-William was sent to Dublin to prepare the way for complete emancipation. The colonists suddenly acquiesced in the new policy of the English minister. A Catholic Relief Bill was read a first time in the Commons with but three dissentients. Lord Fitz-William wrote to Lord Carlisle, "Not a Protestant corporation, scarcely an individual, has come forward to depreciate or oppose the indulgence." But suddenly the English minister changed his mind and abandoned the policy of concession which had been initiated. Fitz-William was recalled. The hopes of the natives were dashed to the ground. Then the natives, in despair, flung themselves into Tone's revolutionary movement, and the rebellion of 1798 was the result. That rebellion was mercilessly crushed by England, and the loyal colonists were left masters of the situation. But their triumph was short-lived. Five years after the recall of Fitz-William, and two years after the rebellion of 1798, the colonial Parliament, which the native race had come to regard as their own, was abolished. The rebellion, which the policy of England had produced, ended in the destruction of that legislative independence which the colonists and natives combined had brought about, and was followed by the "Union" against which all that was incorruptible among both colonists and natives protested.

STAGE III. 1800–1886.

The Union was disastrous to the native race. It retarded their progress towards emancipation by uniting the colonists and England on the common ground of resistance to Irish demands, and by putting an end to the quarrels between both, out of which, coupled with American and continental difficulties, had come the concessions of 1778 and 1793. Prior to the Union, the colonists were sometimes "Irish to the English," though often "English to the Irish;" * after the Union, they were almost always "English to the Irish." The colonial Parliament, after eleven years of independence, admitted the native race to the franchise. But the united Parliament for twenty-nine years kept its doors closed against them. Then a great native leader arose—Daniel O'Connell. He pushed his fellow-countrymen to the verge of revolution, and England (in 1829) granted emancipation against the wishes of the colonists. After this defeat the colonists still struggled to preserve their remaining "privileges;" to maintain tithes, to protect the Church, to defend the land system, and to keep the

* Maurice Fitz-Gerald, the first of the "Geraldines," said to his followers in 1171, "Though English to the Irish, we are as Irish to the English, for this island does not show us greater hatred than that."—The Duke of Leinster, "The Earls of Kildare," pp. 6, 7.

administration of the country in their own hands. The natives sought to reform or overthrow the obnoxious Anglo-colonial institutions, and to secure the establishment of a national government. England again hesitated a moment between the combatants, then lent her support to the colonial party, and finally gave them up. For ten years after emancipation she maintained tithes, and then abandoned them; for forty years she upheld the Church, and then abandoned it; for forty-one years she safe-guarded the land-system, and then overthrew it. She still refuses the demand for national government.

And, it may be asked, Who have been the gainers in the bitter struggle of the past eighty-six years? Not the colonists, certainly. For almost all their institutions are gone. Tithes are gone, the Church is gone, the land-system is gone, and the system of colonial government by "Dublin Castle" is doomed. Have the natives been the gainers? Scarcely. Because although victory has in the main crowned their efforts, yet it has been purchased at terrible cost. For eighty-six years Ireland has been the theatre of fierce political and social conflicts, which have embittered the relations of class, sown the seeds of international discord, and arrested the civilization of the island. Fifty years of concessions have been dearly purchased at such a price. Has

England been the gainer? Assuredly not. For she has to-day a more rebellious Ireland to deal with than she had eighty-six years ago.

CONCLUSION.

The English Government in Ireland has broken down. The attempt to rule the country against the wishes of the vast majority of its inhabitants has failed. The obnoxious institutions planted by England have almost all disappeared. The English "garrisons" are gone or going; and, for good or ill, England now finds herself face to face with a completely enfranchised Irish nation, pressing forward its demand for national government. England cannot retrace the steps which she has been constrained to take during the past hundred years. She cannot re-enact the Penal Code, repeal the Franchise Act of 1793, or the Emancipation Act of 1829, revive tithes, re-establish the Church, set up the land-system, restore the colonial ascendency, or even efface from the statute-book the Irish clauses of the Parliamentary Reform Act of 1884. Charles James Fox once said that the best way to govern Ireland was to let the "besiegers" into the "garrisons." England has let the "besiegers" into the "garrisons." It is now too late to put them out. Ireland must henceforth be governed by the Irish, and the question to be

solved is, How can this be done without danger to imperial unity?

It is said that the establishment of a Parliament in Ireland, for the management of Irish as distinguished from imperial affairs, would lead to separation, would throw the country into the hands of agitators and rebels. But it must not be forgotten, in considering this view of the case, that the united Parliament has not checked the growth of separatist movements in Ireland; has not kept the country out of the hands of rebels and agitators. The rebels and agitators are supreme in Ireland to-day. The country is already on the road to separation. Ireland is not a patient in robust health, on whom it is proposed gratuitously to operate. She is a patient *in extremis*. The question is one not of prevention, but of cure. The establishment of an Irish Parliament may be attended with risk; but the maintenance of the *status quo* will be attended with greater risk. And whatever change is made, either in the direction of coercion or concession, will also be attended with risk.

Coercion would strengthen the hands of the revolutionists, and concessions which do not give complete satisfaction can only stimulate agitation. Coercion has been abundantly tried since the Union. It was once said that Ireland might be traced in the statute-book by penal laws, as a wounded man might be tracked in a crowd by

his blood. Ireland may be traced in the statute-book since the Union by Coercion Acts. Scores of such Acts have been passed and enforced, but Ireland is to-day rebellious to the core. Many measures of concession have been passed during the last sixty years, but they have failed to give contentment, because, insufficient in themselves to meet the national demand, they were grudgingly granted and unjustly administered. In a word, Ireland is a trouble because the material grievances of the country have been but slowly and unwillingly redressed, and because the national sentiment has never been respected.

England regarded the national sentiment of Scotland, and by wise government, just laws, and the establishment of popular institutions modified its tendencies (which were once as anti-English as the tendencies of Irish national sentiment are now) and gradually drew the Scotch people into complete political sympathy with the English nation. She ignored the national sentiment of Ireland, ruled the country without the slightest regard to its existence, maintained unjust laws, upheld unpopular institutions, despised public opinion, and necessarily drove the Irish into a position of violent hostility. Had England regarded the interests and the feelings of the Irish people since the Revolution as she, in the main, regarded the interest and feelings of the Scotch during the same period, there might be no Irish

difficulty to-day, as there is no Scotch. As England has sown in each country, so has she reaped in each. The work of pacification in Scotland was commenced at the Revolution by the establishment of the national religion, and continued during the succeeding twenty years, by the foundation of national schools, and the protection of the religion of the minority.* The work of pacification in Ireland, delayed for nearly a hundred and fifty years—during which time the national religion was proscribed or ignored, national education forbidden, and the religion of the minority placed in a galling ascendency—was practically only commenced in 1835–40 by a just administration of the laws, and then abandoned for a quarter of a century longer. As a result of English policy in Scotland, the work of pacification in that country has long since been completed; as a result of English policy in Ireland, the work of pacification there has yet to be done. How is it to be done? By conciliating the national sentiment of the country—for the sentiment of nationality now more than ever "lies at the root of Irish discontent." † Until it is gratified, there will be no peace or loyalty in Ireland. How is it to be gratified? Three-fourths of the representatives of the Irish people in the Imperial

* On this subject see Lecky, "History of England in the Eighteenth Century," vol. ii. pp. 41, 42; and for comparison between Scotch and Irish Union, *ibid.*, pp. 59, 60.

† Lecky.

Parliament answer, "By the establishment of an Irish Parliament and an Irish Executive in Dublin." Will the English public accept and act upon this opinion? That is the question of the hour.

I do not understand that reasonable and well-informed Englishmen now deny the existence of a national sentiment in Ireland. They have the best proof of its presence. It has survived the redress, to a large extent, of material grievances. No doubt Lord Salisbury has said that there "are two nations in Ireland." But I hope I may be pardoned for saying that a careful study of Lord Salisbury's speeches on Ireland has satisfied me that, despite his lordship's great and varied gifts and attainments, he is not an authority on Irish history. It would have been more accurate had his lordship said that there are a nation and a colony in Ireland. For the Orange descendants of the Scotch settlers who occupy a corner of Ulster (which their ancestors acquired by plundering the natives, and who have themselves been prevented by religious animosities and class-feuds from uniting in sympathy and feeling with the masses of the Irish people), can no more be called a nation than the Dutch Palatines who settled in Munster at the commencement of the last century could be so called. In fact, Lord Clare has well described the position of the English colonists in Ireland. "What, then," he says, "was the situation of Ireland at the

Revolution, and what is it to-day? The whole power and property of the country have been conferred by successive monarchs of England upon an English colony, composed of three sets of English adventurers, who poured into this country at the termination of three successive rebellions. Confiscation is their common title; and from the first settlement they have been hemmed in on every side by the old inhabitants of the island, brooding over their discontents in sullen indignation." *

In parts of Ireland—notably Tipperary and Wexford—the colonists have long since been absorbed by the native race; have, indeed, in some places, become more Irish than the Irish themselves. But the Ulster colonists, though Irish in temperament—so far the wonderful assimilating power of the native race has told even on the Orangemen—still remain colonial in thought and opinion; "English to the Irish," but, as riotous Belfast proves, "Irish to the English," when the English Executive in Ireland does not give them their own way. It must be remembered that one of the most remarkable things in Anglo-Irish history is the complete failure of England to gain the hearts of the Irish people, native or colonial. Even the Ulster colony is bound to England not by a tie of affection, but of supposed interest. If the Ulster colonists could only be persuaded that Home Rule

* Irish House of Lords, February 19, 1800.

does not mean Rome Rule, they would fall into the national line before a twelvemonth.

Apart from questions of race and religion, there are three important factors in the making of a nation—history, geography, and arithmetic. Geography has marked out all Ireland (including the Orange corner of Ulster) as a national unit with ineffaceable distinctness. History has given to the struggles, the aspirations, the aims, the interests of the population of the three and a half provinces from which the Orangemen yet stand aloof that solidarity which in so large a measure constitute national life; and in numbers the people of these provinces are qualified to form an independent State. But in the case of the Orange part of Ulster, these three factors are wanting. Geography includes this part in the rest of Ireland, history attaches it to England, and arithmetic, taken in connection with geography, disqualifies it for independent national existence. For three centuries the history of Ireland, outside this part, chronicles the efforts of a people united in race, religion, interest, and sentiment to retrieve the calamities of conquest. The history of the Orange part of Ulster chronicles the efforts of a handful of settlers to hold the possessions and the ascendency which they owed to the arms of the conqueror. It is a calamity to Ireland that the descendants of the Scotch settlers of Ulster have not long since been

fused in race and sentiment with the native population, like the descendants of the English settlers of Tipperary and Wexford. But the fact of their non-fusion does not make them a nation.

But, as I have said, all reasonable and well-informed Englishmen admit the existence of a national sentiment in Ireland. The tendencies of this sentiment lean at the present moment, beyond all doubt, in the direction of autonomy, and the question is whether these tendencies may not yet be modified—whether they may not yet be diverted, as the tendencies of Scotch national sentiment were finally diverted, in the direction of legislative union with England. It is the hope of many Englishmen that such a modification is certain. But what chances are there that this hope will be realized? "The sacrifice of a nationality," says Mr. Lecky, "is a measure which naturally produces such intense and such enduring discontent, that it never should be exacted unless it can be accompanied by some political or material advantages to the lesser country that are so great, and at the same time so evident as to prove a corrective." * What are the "material" and "political" advantages which the Imperial Parliament can now offer the Irish people to correct the national cravings for legislative independence? The great material grievances of the country have been, in the main,

* "History of England in the Eighteenth Century," vol. ii. p. 59.

redressed, and no political advantages can now be possibly given to compensate the people for the relinquishment of their claims to a separate parliament. England has lost her chances of modifying the tendencies of national sentiment in Ireland in a manner agreeable to "unionist" views. These chances can never return. Had the Catholics been emancipated when the Union was passed, the concession would have been a great and evident corrective of national discontent, as the concession of Free Trade to Scotland was a great and evident corrective of Scottish discontent in 1707.* Even had the Catholic Emancipation Act been graciously passed in 1829, or honestly carried out after it had been passed, there might have been time to turn Irish national sentiment in an English direction. Nor was all chance of such an end completely lost when the Melbourne Ministry came into office in 1835. But with the death of Thomas Drummond, in 1840, and the failure and fall of the Administration in 1841, with the vigorous revival of the repeal

* "The sacrifice of [Irish] nationality," says Mr. Lecky, "was extorted by the most enormous corruption in the history of representative institutions. It was demanded by no considerable section of the Irish people. It was accompanied by no signal political or material advantage; and it was effected without a dissolution, in opposition to the votes of the immense majority of the representatives of the counties and considerable towns, and to innumerable addresses from every part of the country. Can any impartial man be surprised that such a measure, carried in such a manner, should have proved unsuccessful?"—"History of England in the Eighteenth Century," vol. ii. p. 60.

agitation in 1841–2,* and the establishment of the *Nation* newspaper by Gavan Duffy and Thomas Davis, insurmountable obstacles were raised to the modification in a "unionist" direction of Irish national sentiment; and for a quarter of a century later England not only did nothing to throw down those obstacles, she did everything to keep them up. From 1843 to 1868 English ministers, disregarding the pleadings of Mr. Bright for a just government and equal laws for Ireland, helped by inaction or coercion to strengthen the natural tendencies of the national sentiment; helped to turn the thoughts of the people yet more in the direction of autonomy. In 1868 it was far too late to change the current of national feeling; too late to erase from the national mind the idea of repeal which O'Connell, during the agitation of 1841–46, had rooted there. What the Church Act of 1869, the Land Act of 1870, the Land Act of 1881, the Franchise Act of 1884 failed to accomplish, no concession now within the power of England to grant can achieve.

And what are the concessions short of legislative independence, by which it is proposed to gratify Irish national feeling? What are the "political or material advantages" which can be now conferred to compensate the Irish people for the relinquishment of the demand for autonomy? Lord Harting-

* The Repeal Association was founded in 1840, but the agitation was not pushed with vigour until the fall of the Melbourne Ministry.

ton is apparently in favour of some scheme for local government. He says, "What, then, do we mean when we talk about the affairs of Irish people which they are to be allowed to manage for themselves? I could understand that everything which we recognize under the term 'local business,' everything in the shape of the municipal government of Ireland, of its counties, of its cities, of its rural districts, of its expenditure, of its local rates, I can conceive that such questions as education, or even the question of relief of the poor, and other matters of that description, that in respect to these matters the claim might fairly be raised that the majority of the Irish people should manage their own affairs, and that the minority should bow in these respects to the will of the majority." * But a scheme of this nature would satisfy no one. The Nationalists would simply use it as a lever to obtain legislative independence, and the "Loyalists" would object to it as strengthening the hands of their opponents. The scheme, if I rightly understand it, would place the police and education in the hands of the majority, that is to say, in the hands of the Nationalists. Would the "loyal" minority accept this? And how long, with such increased powers in the hands of the Nationalists, could the demand for autonomy be resisted? How could the Queen's government be carried on with such facilities for

* *Pall Mall Gazette*, April 27, 1886.

disturbance in the hands of a hostile population? Mr. Chamberlain's position is not quite so clear as Lord Hartington's; but he is apparently in favour of Provincial Councils, by which (*inter alia*) the police and education would be controlled and regulated. These Councils would be as useless as Lord Hartington's Local Boards for purposes of conciliation, and much more powerful as engines of agitation and disturbance. Their establishment would be resisted by the "loyal" minority, and only tolerated by the Nationalists as a means to an end. Every Provincial Council would become a repeal centre.

Far better make no concessions at all than concessions which will not conciliate; concessions which will leave the impression that England, finding that something had to be conceded, conceded as little as she could. This has been the feeling which English concessions to Ireland in the past have left behind, and it has been fatal to a real union between the two countries. The concessions of the future must be made in a different spirit, cast in a different mould, if there is ever to be peace between England and Ireland.

The concession of an Irish parliament would at least have this advantage over all other concessions. It would mark distinctly the boundary beyond which England could not go, without manifest injury to imperial interests, and which

Ireland could not pass without coming into armed collision with the greatest empire in the world. It would have a character of finality to which no other concession could pretend. It would be the most ample recognition of Irish national sentiment which England could possibly make consistently with the maintenance of the connection between the two islands. And—let there be no mistake about the fact—the Irish people will never rest content until they feel assured that England has done her utmost, consistently with the maintenance of such connection, to gratify the national sentiment of the country. The establishment of an Irish Parliament and an Irish Executive for the management of purely Irish affairs would give them this assurance, and nothing else can.

APPENDIX A.

A LIST OF IRISH HISTORICAL BOOKS.

[The works in italics may be regarded as sources of history, or historical books useful rather to writers than readers of history. The other works will be found interesting and valuable alike to the general reader, the student, and the publicist.]

Early Irish History.

SULLIVAN.—Introduction to O'Curry's Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish.

MAINE.—Early History of Institutions.

RICHEY.—Lectures on Irish History.

ARCHDALL (ed. Moran).—*Monasticon Hibernicum.*

SKENE.—Celtic Scotland.

MISS STOKES.—Early Christian Architecture in Ireland.

HALIDAY.—*The Scandinavians, and Scandinavian Antiquities of Dublin.*

COLGAN.—*Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ.*

WARE (ed. Harris).—*Antiquities of Ireland.*

O'CURRY.—*MS. Materials of Irish History.*

——, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish.*

ADAMNAN (ed. Reeves).—*Life of St. Columba.*
TODD.—Life of St. Patrick.
——, Battles of the Gaedhil with the Gaill.
MONTALEMBERT.—Monks of the West.
STOKES.—Celtic Church of Ireland.
PETRIE.—The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland: Round Towers.
O'DONOVAN.—*Annals of the Four Masters.*

Illustrative Fiction.

JOYCE, R. D.—Deirdrè.
——, Blanid.
JOYCE, P. W..—Old Celtic Romances.
FERGUSON.—Lays of the Western Gael.
AUBREY DE VERE.—Legends of St. Patrick.
——, Queen Meave.

The Anglo-Norman Period.

GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS (ed. Brewer).—*Topography, and History of the Conquest of Ireland.*
DAVIES.—Discovery of the True Causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued.
THIERRY.—The Norman Conquest.
GILBERT.—Irish Viceroys.
——, *Historic and Municipal Documents relating to Ireland.*
MONCK MASON.—Essay on the Antiquity and Constitution of Parliaments in Ireland.
BETHAM.—Feudal and Parliamentary Dignities.

LYNCH.—Legal Institutions established in Ireland by Henry II.
SWEETMAN.—*State Papers, Irish Series*, 1171–1307.
THE DUKE OF LEINSTER.—The Earls of Kildare.
GALE.—Ancient Corporate System of Ireland.
WARE.—*Annals of Ireland.*
HARDIMAN.—*Statutes of Kilkenny.*
——, *Ancient Irish Deeds and Writings chiefly relating to Landed Property* [from the twelfth to the seventeenth century].

Illustrative Fiction.

FERGUSON.—Hibernian Nights Entertainment.

The Tudor Period.

CAREW.—*Pacata Hibernia.*
PAYNE.—*Brief Description.*
SPENSER.—*View of the State of Ireland.*
FROUDE.—History of England.
POPE HENNESSY.—Raleigh in Ireland.
BAGWELL.—The Tudors in Ireland.
MORISON.—*History of Ireland.*
BERNARD.—Life of Usher.
HAMILTON.—*State Papers*, 1599–1603.
DE BURGO.—*Hibernia Dominicana.*
BRADY.—The Irish Reformation.

The Stuart Period.

GARDINER. — Downfall of the Monarchy of Charles I.

——, History of England from the Accession of James I., to the Outbreak of the Civil War.

CARTE.—*Life of the Earl of Ormond.*

BORLASE.—*History of the Irish Rebellion.*

HUTTON.—Rinuccini in Ireland.

CLANRICARDE.—*Memoirs.*

CLARENDON.—*History of the Rebellion.*

CASTLEHAVEN.—*Memoirs.*

BREWER.—*Introduction to Carew State Papers.*

BELLINGS (ed. Gilbert).—*Irish Confederation and War.*

MOUNTMORRES.—History of the Irish Parliament.

RUSSELL AND PRENDERGAST.—*Introduction to State Papers, Ireland,* 1603–1625.

PYNNAR.—*Survey.*

PRENDERGAST.—Cromwellian Settlement.

RANKE.—History of England.

BURNET.—History of his Own Time.

MACAULAY.—History of England.

STORY.—*Impartial History of Affairs in Ireland.*

——, *A Continuation of the History of the Wars in Ireland.*

WALKER.—*Diary of the Siege of Derry.*

KING.—*Estate of the Protestants of Ireland.*

O'KELLY (ed. J. C. O'Callaghan).—*The Macariæ Excidium.*

HARRIS.—*Life of William, Prince of Orange.*
PETTY.—Political Anatomy of Ireland.
CLOGY.—*Life of Bedell.*
PRENDERGAST.—Tory Wars in Ulster.
DE BURGO.—*Hibernia Dominicana.*

Illustrative Fiction.

LEFANU.—Sir Torlogh O'Brien.
BANIM.—The Boyne Water.

The Eighteenth Century.

SWIFT (ed. Scott).—Works.
BERKELEY.—Works.
FRASER.—Life of Berkeley.
BURKE.—Speeches, Correspondence, Works.
MCKNIGHT.—Life of Burke.
SKELTON.—Works (with Life by Burdy).
BOULTER.—Letters.
MOLYNEUX.—Case of Ireland Stated.
LUCAS.—Addresses.
HUTCHINSON.—Commercial Restraints.
ARTHUR YOUNG.—Tour in Ireland.
CAMPBELL.—Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland.
DOBBS.—Trade of Ireland.
JOHN WESLEY.—Journal.
PRIOR.—List of Absentees.
BARROW.—Life and Writings of Lord Macartney.
History of Belfast.

Belfast Politics.
MACARTNEY.—An Account of Ireland.
HOWARD.—*State of Irish Prisons.*
HARDY.—*Life of Charlemont.*
CRUMPE.—Essay on the Employment of the People.
O'CONOR.—History of the Irish Catholics.
GRATTAN.—Speeches.
CURRAN.—Speeches.
WARDEN FLOOD.—Life of Flood.
PLUNKET.—Speeches (ed. Cashel Hoey, with Memoir).
CURRY.—Civil Wars, and State of the Catholics.
GRATTAN.—Memoir (vols. i., ii., iii.).
FATHER O'LEARY.—Works.
BUSH.—Hibernia Curiosa.
TAAFE.—Observations on Affairs in Ireland since the Settlement of 1691.
FORMAN.—Courage of the Irish Nation.
WOLFE TONE.—Autobiography.
HAMILTON ROWAN.—Autobiography.
MADDEN.—Reflections and Resolutions proper for the Gentlemen of Ireland.
EARL OF FITZ-WILLIAM.—*Letters to Lord Carlisle.*
PARNELL.—Penal Laws.
SCULLY.—Penal Laws.
WOODWARD.—*Present State of the Church in Ireland.*
DOBBS.—*History of Irish Affairs from* 1779–1782.
O'CALLAGHAN.—Irish Brigade.
CORNWALLIS.—*Correspondence.*

Correspondence between Pitt and Rutland (ed. Stanhope).
MADDEN.—United Irishmen.
MASSEY.—History of the reign of George III.
CASTLEREAGH.—*Correspondence.*
COOPER—Letters on the Irish Nation.
CORNEWALL-LEWIS.—Administrations of Great Britain (1783–1800).
LECKY.—History of England in the Eighteenth Century.
——, Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland (essays on Swift, Flood, Grattan).

From the Union to the Present Time.

PLOWDEN.—History of Ireland from the Union to 1810.
WAKEFIELD.—An Account of Ireland, Statistical and Political.
NEWENHAM.—A View of the Natural, Political, and Commercial Circumstances of Ireland.
——, A Statistical and Historical Inquiry into the Progress and Magnitude of the Population of Ireland.
WYSE.—The Catholic Association.
R. WILSON.—*Correspondence.**
MADDEN.—Ireland and its Rulers since 1829.
MCLENNAN.—Memoir of Thomas Drummond.

* On the subject of Orangeism.

PLUNKET.—Speeches (ed. Cashel Hoey *).
GRATTAN.—Speeches.
——, Memoir (Vols. iv., v).
PORTER.—The Progress of the Nation.
SIR R. PEEL.—Memoirs.
DOUBLEDAY.—Life of Peel.
DE BEAUMONT.—Ireland; Social, Political, and Religious.
GREVILLE.—Journals.
TORRENS.—Life of Melbourne.
——, Life of Sheil.
WALPOLE.—History of England.
HATHERTON.—*Memoir.*
SIR C. GAVAN DUFFY.—Young Ireland.
——, Four Years of Irish History.
SIGERSON.—Modern Ireland.
J. H. MCCARTHY.—Ireland since the Union.
BRIGHT.—Speeches.
GLADSTONE.—Speeches.
SHAW LEFEVRE.—Peel and O'Connell.
LORD JOHN RUSSELL.—Recollections and Suggestions.
CORNEWALL-LEWIS. — Administrations, 1800–1830.
BICHENO.—Ireland and its Economy.
LECKY.—Leaders of Public Opinion (O'Connell).

* Some of the most valuable contributions to Irish history have been made by Mr. Cashel Hoey in the *Dublin Review* and elsewhere. It is to be regretted that Mr. Hoey's essays have not been given to the public in a collected form.

General Histories.

LELAND.—History of Ireland.
PLOWDEN.—Historical Review of the State of Ireland.
MCGEOGHEGAN.—History of Ireland (with Mitchel's Continuation).
WALPOLE.—The Kingdom of Ireland.
GORDON.—History of Ireland.

Ecclesiastical Histories.

LANIGAN.—Ecclesiastical History of Ireland.
BRENAN.—Ecclesiastical History of Ireland.
MANT.—History of the Church of Ireland.
KILLEN.—Ecclesiastical History of Ireland.
REID.—History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland.
MORAN.—The Catholic Archbishops of Dublin.

Books on the Land Question.

CORNEWALL-LEWIS.—Irish Disturbances.
SIGERSON.—Irish Land Tenures.
BUTT.—The Irish People and the Irish Land.
DUFFERIN.—Irish Emigration and the Tenure of Land in Ireland.
O'CONNOR MORRIS.—Letters on the Irish Land Question.
KENNEDY.—*Digest of the Devon Commission.*
KAY.—Social Condition and Education of the People in England and Europe.

KAY.—Free Trade in Land (ed. Mrs. Kay).
LADY MORGAN.—Absenteeism.
GODKIN.—The Land War in Ireland.
NASSAU SENIOR.—Journals Relating to Ireland.
SIR M. BARRINGTON.—Letter to Sir Robert Peel.
THORNTON.—Plea for a Peasant Proprietary.
PROFESSOR CAIRNES.—Political Essays: Fragments on Ireland.
CLIFFE LESLIE. — Land Systems of England, Ireland, and Continental Countries.
WIGGINS.—Hints to Irish Landlords.
SIR GAVAN DUFFY.—League of North and South.

General Sketch of Irish History.

HALLAM.—Constitutional History of England. Chapter on Ireland, vol. iii., chap. xviii.

Illustrative Fiction.

AUBREY DE VERE.—Inisfail.
JOYCE.—Legends of the Wars in Ireland.

General Comment on Irish History.

GREVILLE—Past and Present Policy of England towards Ireland.
PARNELL.—Apology for the Irish Catholics.
GOLDWIN SMITH.—Irish History and Irish Character.
——, Three English Statesmen.
ROBERT HOLMES.—The Case of Ireland Stated.

DAVIS.—Literary and Historical Essays.
AUBREY DE VERE.—English Misrule, and Irish Misdeeds.

Local Histories.

SMITH.—History of Cork.
——, History of Waterford.
——, History of Kerry.
HARDIMAN.—History of Galway.
GILBERT.—History of Dublin.

Books of Reference.

GILBERT.—*National MS. of Ireland.*
WEBB.—Compendium of Irish Biography.
NICOLSON.—English, Scotch, and Irish Historical Libraries.
O'CALLAGHAN.—The Green Book.
ROWLEY LASCELLES.—Liber Munerum Publicorum Hiberniæ.
SMYTH.—Ireland, Historical and Statistical.
READ AND O'CONNOR, T. P.—The Cabinet of Irish Literature.
GRIFFITH.—Report on Irish Coal Fields.
JOYCE.—Origin and History of Irish Names of Places.
ARNOLD.—Burke on Irish Affairs.
HARRIS—*Hibernica.* [A Collection of Tracts Relating to Ireland.]
THOM.—Almanac.
——, Collected Tracts and Treatises on Ireland.

JOHN O'CONNELL.—Argument for Ireland.
LEWIS.—Topographical Dictionary.
O'CONNELL.—Memoir of Ireland.

Novels and Sketches Illustrative of Irish Life and Character.

CARLETON.—Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry.
GRIFFIN.—The Collegians.
——, The Munster Festivals.
PHILLIPS.—Curran and his Contemporaries.
MISS EDGEWORTH.—Ennui.
——, The Absentee.
——, Castlerack Rent.
——, Ormond.
MRS. CASHEL HOEY.*—No Sign.
BANIM.—The Nowlans.
——, Crohoore of the Bill Hook.
——, Father Connell.
KICKHAM.—The Homes of Knocknagow.
SHEIL.—Sketches.
LADY MORGAN.—Memoirs.
——, Patriotic Sketches.
MISS LAWLESS.—Hurrish.
JUSTIN M'CARTHY.—The Fair Saxon.
LEVER.—Charles O'Malley.
CROFTON CROKER.—Fairy Legends and Traditions.
LEFANU.—The Cock and Anchor.
——, The House by the Churchyard.

* See Escott's *England.*

National Poetry.

MOORE.—Irish Melodies.
DAVIS.—Poems.
CLARENCE MANGAN.—Poems.
DENIS FLORENCE MCCARTHY.—Poems.
DUFFY.—The Spirit of the Nation.
HAYES.—Ballads of Ireland.
LOVER.—Lyrics of Ireland.

APPENDIX B.

A CHRONOLOGY OF IRELAND SINCE THE UNION.

1800–1.—*Pitt Administration.*

Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland; the Maintenance of the Protestant Episcopalian Church in Ireland guaranteed; hopes of Catholic Emancipation held out by Ministers as a recompense for Catholic support or neutrality. Insurrection Act. Habeas Corpus Suspension Act.

1801.—Resignation of Mr. Pitt because the hopes of Emancipation, held out to the Catholics at the Union, could not be fulfilled.

1801 (March).—*The Addington Ministry.*

Abandonment of the Catholic Question. Insurrection Act.

1803.—Emmett's insurrection. Emmett and others hanged for high treason.

1803–4.—Insurrection Act. Habeas Corpus Suspension Act.

1804 (May).—*Pitt's second Administration.*

Abandonment of the Catholic Question by Mr. Pitt.

1805.—Refusal of Pitt to present a Catholic petition. Presentation of Catholic Petition by Mr. Fox in the Commons, and by Lord Grenville in the Lords. Rejection of the petition in the Commons by 336 to 124 votes; in the Lords by 178 to 49 votes. Land war.

1806.—Protest against the Union by Mr. O'Hara; speech by Fox condemning that measure. Suppression of the Catholic Committee.

1806 (Jan.).—Death of Mr. Pitt.

1806 (Jan.).—*The Grenville Administration.*

The Catholic Question taken up by the Ministry.

1807.—The Ministry dismissed for refusing to give a pledge not to bring forward the Catholic Question. Land war.

1807 (March).—*The Portland Administration.*

Abandonment of the Catholic Question by Ministers. Insurrection Act. Martial law. Land war.

1808.—Rejection of Grattan's petition for the admission of Catholics to Parliament by 281 to 128 votes. Insurrection Act. Martial law. Land war.

1809.—Insurrection Act. Martial law. Land war.

1809 (Oct.).—*The Perceval Ministry.*

Continued opposition of Ministers to the Catholic claims. Insurrection Act. Martial Law.

1810.—Insurrection Act. Martial law. Land war. Repeal meeting in Dublin. Resolution in

favour of the Catholics rejected in the Commons by 213 to 109 votes.

1811.—Motion on the Catholic Question defeated in the Commons by 146 to 85 votes. Formation of Catholic Board. Prosecution of members under Convention Act; their acquittal.

1812.—Perceval shot by Bellingham.

1812 (April).—Motion for an inquiry into Catholic claims, rejected in the Commons by 300 to 215 votes; and in the Lords by 174 to 102 votes.

1812 (May).—*The Liverpool Administration.* Ministers divided on the Catholic claims; but Mr. Canning's motion for an inquiry carried by 235 to 106 votes. Similar motion lost in the Lords by one vote.

1813.—Admission of Catholics to Parliament, subject to restrictions and safeguards, refused in the Commons, on the motion of the Speaker, by 251 to 247 votes. Grattan's motion for an inquiry carried by 264 to 224 votes. Motion for removal of Catholic disqualifications carried by 186 to 119 votes. Veto controversy. Land war.

1814.—Catholic Board suppressed. Insurrection Act. Martial law. Land war.

1815.—Catholic claims rejected in the Commons by 228 to 147 votes. Insurrection Act. Martial law. Land war.

1816.—Resolutions in favour of the Catholics negatived in both Houses. Insurrection Act. Martial law. Land war.

1817.—Insurrection Act. Martial Law. Land war. Consolidation of English and Irish Exchequers.

1819.—Grattan brings forward the Catholic Question for the last time. The Catholic claims rejected by 248 to 242 votes in the Commons, by 147 to 106 in the Lords.

1820.—Grattan dies.

1821.—Plunket's resolution for a Committee of the whole House to consider the Catholic Question, carried by 227 to 221 votes. Plunket's Bill removing every disability and opening every office in Ireland to the Catholics, except the Lord Lieutenancy and the Lord Chancellorship, and giving the Crown a veto on the appointment of Catholic bishops, carried on the second reading by 254 to 243 votes, and on the third reading by 216 to 197 votes;* rejected in the Lords by 159 to 120 votes. Land war.

1822.—Canning's Bill to allow Catholics to sit in the House of Lords carried by 235 to 223 votes; rejected in the Lords by 171 to 129 votes. Canning declares Catholic Question "to be hopeless." Insurrection Act. Martial law. Habeas Corpus Suspension Act. Land war. Famine.

1823.—Catholic claims rejected in the Commons by 313 to 111 votes. Freemantle writes to the Duke of Buckingham—"As for our Catholic Question, it is gone to the devil."

* Amendment by Mr. Bankes to prevent Catholics sitting in Parliament rejected by 216 to 197.

Insurrection Act. Resistance to Tithes. Land war. Repeal of the Tithe Agistment Act passed in 1735 to exempt pasture land from tithes. O'Connell forms the Catholic Association.

1824.—"The most hopeful politicians were beginning to despair of effecting the Emancipation of the Roman Catholics" (Spencer Walpole, "History of England"). O'Connell says, "If Parliament will not attend to the Catholic claims, I hope some Bolivar will arise to vindicate their rights." He is prosecuted; the Grand Jury throw out the Bill of indictment. Insurrection Act.

1825.—O'Connell rallies the country with vigour and violence; defies the law, and overrides the Executive. The Catholic Association suppressed; but quickly revived under another name. Three Catholic Relief Bills introduced in the Commons: (1) Removing the disabilities of the Catholics; (2) Making a provision for the Catholic clergy; (3) Disfranchising the 40*s*. freeholders. The first Bill passes the Commons, but is rejected in the Lords; the other two Bills are abandoned. The Duke of York declares—"So help him, God," that he will resist the Catholic claims, "whatever might be his situation in life;" speech printed in letters of gold.

1826.—The Waterford election; O'Connell puts up a candidate; the 40*s*. freeholders rally around

him, and the Government candidate is beaten. Currency assimilated.

1827.—Motion of Sir J. Burdett in favour of the Catholics defeated by 276 to 272 votes.

"At this moment the breach between Great Britain and Ireland was wider than at any time since the Union; and the prospect of a tranquil settlement seemed more remote than ever. Ireland was becoming stubborn, insulting, and disaffected; Great Britain more intolerant, angry, and oppressive (Sir G. Cornewall-Lewis, "Administrations").

1827 (Feb.).—Illness of Lord Liverpool.

1827 (April).—*Canning Administration.*

1827 (Aug.).—Death of Canning.

1827 (Aug.).—*Goderich Ministry.*

1828 (Jan.).—Resignation of Viscount Goderich.

1828.—*Wellington Ministry.*

Opposed to the Catholic claims. Clare election. O'Connell returned by the 40*s.* freeholders. Defeat of Fitzgerald, the Ministerial candidate. Ireland on the verge of rebellion. "Out of a regular infantry force in the United Kingdom, amounting to 30,000 men 25,000 were stationed either in Ireland or on the west coast of England, with a view to the maintenance of tranquillity in Ireland" (Peel's "Memoirs"). The *Times* writes, "Three-fourths of the soldiers in Ireland are Catholics. Even the greater part of the Highland regiments belong to Ireland, and have

manifestly been inoculated with the feelings of those among whom they live, and from whom they were taken." Fight in Limerick between the 36th (Irish and Catholic) and 60th (partly Irish and Catholic) regiments. The 60th attack with the cry, "Down with the papists." The 36th defend with the cry, "O'Connell for ever." The Irish and Catholics in the 60th withdraw, and their regiment is beaten. This incident disturbs public opinion in England (O'Callaghan, "Green Book").

1829.—Disfranchisement of the 40*s*. freeholders. Catholic Emancipation. Catholic Relief Act so framed as to compel O'Connell to stand a second election for Clare, where he is again successful.

1830 (Nov.).—*Grey Ministry.*

Catholic Emancipation a dead letter. O'Connell agitates for the repeal of the Union. Commencement of the Tithe war. Customs consolidated.

1831.—Stanley's Arms Act. Repeal meetings proclaimed. Arrest of O'Connell. Prosecution dropped. National education based on the mixed system, in opposition to Irish opinion, which favoured denominationalism. Schools unpopular; board unfairly constituted; five Protestants to two Catholics. Resistance to tithes at Graigue Na Managh; first "battle" of the Tithe war; peasants successful. Second "battle" of the Tithe war at Newton-Barry;

peasants beaten; twelve shot dead, and twenty wounded. Third "battle" of the Tithe war at Thurles; peasants successful; police retreat. Fourth "battle" of the Tithe war (also at Thurles), fierce encounter between police and peasants; peasants successful; police retreat; many peasants severely wounded by bayonet-charges and musketry fire. Fifth "battle" of the Tithe war at Castle-Pollard; peasants beaten; many shot down. Sixth "battle" of the Tithe war at Carrickshock; peasants successful; police force annihilated; eleven killed and seventeen wounded. Parliamentary Committees appointed to inquire into tithes; Catholics excluded from the committees; Witnesses almost exclusively Protestant Episcopalians. Land war.

1832.—Stanley's Arms Act. Irish Reform Act; all Irish amendments rejected; measure denounced by O'Connell as tending to restrict the franchise. Repeal agitation continued. Tithe war; boycotting. Seventh "battle" of Tithe war at Wallstown; peasants shot down by Highlanders and police. Eighth "battle" of Tithe war at Rathkeeran; peasants led on by a girl—Katherine Foley; fierce encounter with police; Katherine Foley shot dead, and peasants dispersed. Land war. A Tithe Composition Act passed, but denounced by Irish members as worthless and mischievous.

1833.—Repeal agitation. Land war. Grey's Coercion Act. Tithe war; "battle" of Kilmurry; peasants occupy an entrenched position, from which soldiers and police fail to dislodge them. O'Connell encourages the Tithe-resisters to fight on; harasses Ministers in Parliament, and thwarts the Executive in Ireland.

1834 (July).—The Grey Ministry fall in an attempt to renew the Coercion Act of 1833.

1834 (July).—*First Melbourne Administration.* Grey's Coercion Act continued in a mitigated form.

1834 (Nov.).—Lord Althorp becomes Earl Spencer, and the King dismisses Melbourne.

1834 (Dec.).—*First Peel Administration.*

1834.—Grey's Coercion Act. Repeal agitation. O'Connell's motion for Repeal of the Union defeated in the House of Commons by 523 to 38 votes. Land war. Tithe war. Ninth "battle" of the Tithe war at Rathcormac; peasants slaughtered by military and police. O'Connell grows fiercely violent; denounces the Government; rallies the country, and is assailed as "a staunch bloodhound" by the *Times.*

1835 (Jan.).—General election; result—O'Connell, supported by 44 Repealers and 22 Irish Liberals, holds the balance between English Whigs and Tories.

1835 (April).—The Peel Ministry ousted by the

Irish vote on Lord John Russell's resolution for appropriating the surplus revenues of the Irish Church to purposes of general utility.

1835 (April).—*Second Melbourne Administration*, supported by O'Connell.

Lichfield House Compact. O'Connell suspends the demand for repeal, and the Government undertakes (1) to pass remedial measures for Ireland, (2) to establish a popular executive at Dublin Castle.

1835.—Thomas Drummond becomes Under-Secretary at Dublin Castle, 1835–40. No Coercion Acts enforced.*

1836.—Drummond refuses to send out police and military to collect tithes. Writs of rebellion issued by the Ascendency party, but not enforced by Drummond. No more collisions between the authorities and the peasants in the collection of tithes. Tithes not generally paid. Repeal agitation ceases; country becomes comparatively tranquil. Tithe Commutation Act (with appropriation clause) passes the Commons, but is rejected in the Lords. Municipal Reform Act passes the Commons; is rejected in the Lords.

1837.—Ministers again fail to carry their remedial measures. The Irish people well affected towards the Executive.

1838.—Drummond writes his famous letter to the

* Walpole, "England," vol. iv. p. 278; Hansard, 3rd series, vol. lxxxvii. p. 501.

Tipperary magistrates, saying, "Property has its duties as well as its rights." Magistrates afraid to publish letter, lest it should excite the people. Tithe Commutation Act (without appropriation clause) passed. Poor Laws. Municipal Reform Bill passes Commons; rejected by the Lords.

1839.—Drummond devises schemes for developing the resources of the country. Popularity of the Executive in Ireland very great. Municipal Reform Bill passes Commons; rejected in the Lords.

1840.—Repeal Association founded. Municipal Reform Bill, disfranchizing, under the pressure of Peel and the Tories, 58 out of 68 Corporations, and giving a restricted franchise to the rest, becomes law. Drummond dies, "bewailed by the nation." [Statue of Drummond erected by public subscription and placed in City Hall, Dublin.]

1841.—Fall of the Melbourne Ministry without having passed their remedial measures as originally introduced and approved of by the Irish party.

1841 (Sept.).—*Second Peel Administration.* Revival of the agitation for the Repeal of the Union.

1842.—*Nation* newspaper founded by Gavan Duffy, Thomas Davis, and John Dillon. Repeal agitation pushed with vigour.

1843.—Great repeal meeting. Devon Commission

appointed. Coercion Act passed. Repeal meeting at Clontarf proclaimed. Ward's motion for reform of Established Church is counted out, Ministers declaring that compact made at the Union must be kept.

1844.—Great disaffection; revival of the Separatist idea (first conceived by Wolfe Tone) by Duffy and Davis. Country drifting into rebellion, and only held back by O'Connell. Prosecution of O'Connell, Duffy, and other Repealers. Traversers convicted by a packed jury and imprisoned; verdict quashed by the House of Lords, Lord Denman denouncing the practices of the prosecution as calculated to make trial by jury in Ireland "a mockery, a delusion, and a snare." Release of O'Connell and the other traversers. Maynooth Grant increased. Catholic Charitable Bequests Act. Motion in Commons for Committee on Church rejected by 274 to 179 votes.

1845.—Queen's Colleges founded. Differences between O'Connell and the "Young Ireland party." Failure of the potato crop. Death of Thomas Davis. Lord Stanley's Land Bill, securing to the tenants compensation for improvement, rejected in the Lords.

1846.—Fall of the Peel Ministry in an attempt to pass a Coercion Act for Ireland. Breach between Young Irelanders and O'Connell. Committal of Smith O'Brien to custody of Sergeant-at-Arms. Lord John Russell declares against the destruction of the Church.

1846 (July).—*First Russell Administration.*

1847.—Famine. Coercion, Crime, and Outrage Act. Death of O'Connell. Lord John Russell says Ministers have no intention of dealing with the Church Question.

1848.—Arrest and transportation of Mitchell. Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. Crime and Outrage Act. Removal of Aliens Act. Arrest of Duffy, Martin, Meagher, Doheny. Duffy tried twice for seditious libel. Jury disagree. Confederate clubs prohibited. Insurrection. Arrest of Smith O'Brien. Treason Felony Act.

1849.—Habeas Corpus Suspension Act. Crime and Outrage Act. Removal of Aliens Act. O'Brien, Meagher, O'Donoghue, and McManus sentenced to death, but penalty commuted to transportation for life. Encumbered Estates Act passed; aggravates the evils of the Land system. Motion for an inquiry on the Church Question rejected in the Commons by 170 to 103 votes. The Queen visits Ireland.

1850.—Tenant-right agitation. Land war. Crime and Outrage Act. Queen's University established. Catholic synod at Thurles condemns Queen's Colleges.

1851.—*Second Russell Administration.** Establishment of an independent Irish parliamentary party by Gavan Duffy, Frederic Lucas, G. H. Moore, Sharman Crawford. Tenant-right agi-

* Continuation of first.

tation. Tenant League holds a meeting on the banks of the Boyne. Death of Sheil at Florence. Land war. McManus escapes from transportation, and arrives in America. Crime and Outrage Act. Catholic University founded by voluntary subscription. Ecclesiastical Tithes Act.

1852 (Feb.).—*First Derby Administration.* Meagher escapes from Van Dieman's Land, and arrives in New York. The Napier Land Code, securing compensation for improvements (prospective and retrospective) referred, on the suggestion of Mr. Disraeli, to a select committee. Religious riots at Belfast.

1852 (Dec.).—Ministers resign; having been defeated by the Irish vote on Mr. Disraeli's budget. Land war. Crime and Outrage Act. Tenant-right demonstration at Warrington dispersed.

1852 (Dec.).—*Aberdeen Ministry.*

1853.—Land war. Crime and Outrage Act. Tenant-right conference. The Napier Code passes the Commons; but Lord Aberdeen, under pressure in the Lords, postpone legislation until 1854. Dublin exhibition. Queen visits Ireland. Land war. Crime and Outrage Act. Russell declares that Ministers do not intend to deal with the Church Question. Income-tax extended to Ireland.

1854.—Napier Code referred to select committee of Lords, when "the Tenants Compensation Bill" is condemned by the committee and

abandoned by Ministers. Serjeant Shee's Bill for Reform of the Church by suspending certain benefices where Protestants few in number, rejected in Commons by 117 to 31 votes. Land war. Crime and Outrage Act.

1855 (Jan.)–58.—*First Palmerston Administration.* Land war. Crime and Outrage Act. Peace Preservation Act. All attempts at land legislation fail.

1856.—Pardon granted to Smith O'Brien, who returns to Ireland.

1857.—Religious riots at Belfast.

1858 (Feb.).—*Second Derby Administration.* Land war. Peace Preservation Act. Formation of the Fenian Society. James Stephens revives the Separatist idea. Proclamation against secret societies. Arrest of Fenians. Maguire's Tenants' Compensation Bill rejected in Commons by 200 to 65 votes.

1859 (June).—*Second Palmerston Administration.*

1859.—National Gallery founded. Agitation against the National schools.

1860.—Cardwell's Land Act passed; aggravates the evils of the land system. Land war. Peace Preservation Act. Great emigration movement. Papal brigade. Repeal agitation revived.

1861.—Land war. Peace Preservation Act.

1862.—Orange riots at Belfast. Complete break down of parliamentary agitation. Fenianism growing strong in Ireland and America. Great agricultural distress.

1863 (Nov.).—Fenian convention at Chicago. Fenian organ in the press, *The Irish People*, founded in Dublin; principal managers, John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles James Kickham.

1864.—Fenianism powerful. Death of Smith O'Brien.

1865 (March).—Mr. Dillwyn's motion, "That the condition of the Irish Established Church is unsatisfactory," opposed by Ministers, the Home Secretary declaring that "no practical grievance exists."

1865 (Sept.).—Seizure of *The Irish People;* arrest of O'Leary, Luby, and other Fenians.

1865.—Address of American Fenians. Arrest of Fenians at Manchester. A Fenian vessel, with gunpowder on board, seized at Liverpool. The Pope condemns Fenianism. £5000 and 2000 pike-heads received from America.

1865 (Oct.).—*Third Russell Administration.*

A Fenian Provisional Government in New York, and a Congress of 600 members held at Philadelphia.

1865 (Nov.).—Trial and sentence (twenty years penal servitude) of O'Leary, Luby, and others. Roberts succeeds O'Mahony as Fenian head centre. Arrest of Stephens, Kickham, and other Fenians.

1865 (Nov. 24).—Escape of Stephens.

1866 (Jan.).—380,000 Fenians reported in United States (Haydn).

1866 (Feb.).—Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. Speech by Mr. Bright, condemning the policy of England towards Ireland. He says, "If I go back to the Ministers who have sat on the Treasury Bench since I first came into this House [1843]—Sir Robert Peel first, then Lord John Russell, then Lord Aberdeen, then Lord Derby, then Lord Palmerston again, then Earl Russell—I say with regard to all these men, there has not been any approach to anything that history will describe as statesmanship on the part of the English Government towards Ireland. There were Coercion Bills in abundance; Arms Bills session after session; lamentations like that of the right honourable gentleman the member for Buckinghamshire (Mr. Disraeli) that the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act was not made perpetual by a clause which he laments was repealed. There have been Acts for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act like that which we are now discussing, but there has been no statesmanship. . . . All history teaches that it is not in human nature that men should be content under any system of legislation, and of institutions such as exists in Ireland."

1866 (March).—Fenian mass meeting in New York. Threatened invasion of Canada.

1866 (April).—Sir John Grey's motion, "That the position of the Established Church urgently demands the consideration of Parliament,"

opposed by Ministers "upon considerations of common sense, possibility, time, circumstance" (speech of Irish Secretary). Fenian invasion of Canada. United States Government interpose.

1866.—Fenian schooner scuttles English schooner near Eastport, N.A. Stephens arrives at New York. Discovery of a Fenian armoury in Dublin; the city proclaimed. Habeas Corpus Act suspended.

1866 (July).—*Third Derby Administration.*

Three hundred suspected Fenians in prison. Great seizure of firearms. Clare and other counties proclaimed. Peace Preservation Act.

1866 (Nov.).—Stephens leaves America for Europe. British Government offer £2000 for his arrest.

1867.—Fenian rising. Attempt to take Chester Castle. Habeas Corpus Suspension Act. Peace Preservation Act. Rescue of Fenians at Manchester. Execution of the Fenians, Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien. Funeral demonstrations for Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien at London, Cork, Dublin, and Limerick; funeral processions prohibited. Declaration of Catholic clergy in favour of self-government. Bishop Moriarty condemns the Fenians. Blowing up of Clerkenwell prison by Fenians to effect escape of their comrades. State Trials.

1868 (Feb.).—*First Disraeli Administration.*

The Fenian Mackay attacks a Martello tower at Cork, but fails and is captured, and

sentenced to twelve years' imprisonment. Prosecution of the *Irishman* and *Weekly News* newspapers for sedition; editors fined and imprisoned. Habeas Corpus Suspension Act. Peace Preservation Act. Land war. Mr. Gladstone declares in favour of the disestablishment of the Protestant Episcopalian Church in Ireland. Mr. Gladstone's resolution in favour of Disestablishment carried in Commons by 330 to 265 votes. The Fenian Barrett hanged for blowing up Clerkenwell prison. Irish Reform Act. Visit of Prince and Princess of Wales to Dublin. Increased emigration to America.

1868 (Dec.).—*First Gladstone Administration.* Peace Preservation Act. Habeas Corpus Suspension Act.

1869.—Land war. Peace Preservation Act. Habeas Corpus Suspension Act. Protestant Episcopalian Church disestablished. Mixed education denounced by Cardinal Cullen. Demand of amnesty for the Fenian prisoners. O'Donovan Rossa and other Fenians conditionally released. Tenant-right agitation. The Fenian O'Donovan Rossa elected for Tipperary.

1870.—Land war. Peace Preservation Act. Eight counties proclaimed. O'Donovan Rossa's election annulled. Irish Land Act, securing to tenants compensation for improvements and disturbance, passed. Home Rule Association formed. Davitt convicted of treason-felony.

President Grant's Proclamation against Fenian raid into Canada.

1871.—All the Fenians, save the military and Manchester prisoners conditionally released.* Released Fenians welcomed in the United States. John Martin, Home Ruler, elected for Meath. Westmeath Ribbon Act. Fenian raid into Canada suppressed by United States Government. Chief Constable Talbot, Fenian informer, shot. Amnesty meeting at the Phœnix Park suppressed; riot ensues, and many persons are killed. Isaac Butt, Home Rule leader, elected for the city of Limerick.

1872.—Home Rulers elected for Galway and Kerry.

1873.—Peace Preservation Act. Mr. Gladstone's Irish University Bill rejected in the Commons and withdrawn.

1874.—*Second Disraeli Administration.*

1874.—Peace Preservation Act. Protection of Life and Property Act.

1875.—Mr. Parnell elected for Meath.

1876.—Mr. Butt's Land Bill, establishing Fixity of Tenure, Fair Rents, and Free Sale, rejected in the Commons by 290 to 56 votes.

1877.—Mr. Crawford's Bill for extending the Ulster Custom throughout Ireland talked out.

1878.—Mr. Crawford's Bill rejected by 85 to 66 votes. Intermediate Education Act passed. Mr. Butt's Bill, brought forward by Mr.

* Some were, I understand, released in December, 1870; others in January, 1871.

McCarthy Downing, is rejected by 286 to 86 votes. Land war recommences. Neo-Fenianism started by John Devoy, an old Fenian.

1879.—Mr. Burt's Bill, reintroduced by Mr. Shaw, rejected by 263 to 91 votes. Mr. Crawford's Bill talked out. Royal University established. Agricultural distress. The Land League founded by Michael Davitt.

1880.—Great agricultural distress. Land war. Arrest of Davitt, and other Land Leaguers; prosecution dropped. Mr. Parnell elected chief of the Irish Parliamentary Party.

1880 (April).—*Second Gladstone Administration.* Continued agricultural distress. "Compensation for Disturbance Bill," for the purpose of stopping eviction, passed through the Commons, but rejected in the Lords. Violent land agitation. Obstruction in Parliament by Irish members. Boycotting commences. State trials; Mr. Parnell, Mr. Dillon, Mr. Sexton, Mr. T. P. Sullivan, and other Land Leaguers, tried on a charge of conspiring to prevent the payment of rents; the jury disagree, and the traversers are discharged.

1881.—Mr. Forster's Coercion Act, practically suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, passes through Parliament, after fierce and prolonged opposition by Irish members. Arrest of Davitt; protest and suspension of the Irish members. Land Act passed. Continued agitation. Wholesale arrests and imprisonments, including Mr.

Parnell and other Irish members (Oct.). Suppression of the Land League. No Rent manifesto. Invincible Assassination Society springs up. Total arrests under Coercion Act, 940.

1882.—Mr. Forster's Coercion Act dropped by Ministers. Mr. Forster resigns his post as Irish Secretary, and is succeeded by Lord Frederick Cavendish. Land Leaguers released. Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke, Under-Secretary of Dublin Castle, assassinated in the Phœnix Park by the "Invincibles." Crimes Act passed. Mr. Trevelyan becomes Chief Secretary. Aliens Act passed. Arrears of Rent Act. National League founded.

1883.—Arrest of seventeen persons for the murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke. James Carey turns informer. Brady, Kelly, Curley, Gagan, and Caffrey hanged. James Carey goes to the Cape, and is shot on board ship by O'Donnell. O'Donnell arrested, brought to England, tried, and hanged.

The *Annual Reporter* says, "However excellent Mr. Forster's intentions, however praiseworthy his motives, the result of his administration was not a success. With all the instruments of coercion in his hands, he did not know how to employ them properly. It reads like the commonest of satires upon his term of office, to know that, at a time when the

gaols were choking with the number of Mr. Forster's 'suspects,' when, according to his own belief, he had every dangerous man in the island under lock and key, his own life was in incessant danger at the hands of men of whose existence and purposes he was guilelessly unaware; only a succession of chances, that read almost like providential miracles, saved him time after time from men whom a word of his or a stroke of his pen could at any moment have clapped in safe keeping, had he the slightest suspicion of their existence. The law gave him power to arrest on suspicion, but he had no suspicion of the only body of men whose plans were really dangerous, whose actions were really deadly."

Davett and Healy imprisoned for not giving security to the Queen's Bench to be of "good behaviour." *United Ireland* prosecuted; jury disagree. Dynamite outrages; attempt to blow up the Local Government and *Times* offices.

1884.—New Reform Act lowering the franchise in Ireland. The name of Sackville Street changed by the Nationalists to O'Connell Street. Dynamite explosions at the Carlton Club, Victoria, Paddington, Charing Cross, London Bridge, Ludgate Hill, and Scotland Yard.

1885 (Jan.).—Attempt to blow up the House of Commons and the Tower of London by dynamite.

1885 (June).—*First Salisbury Administration.*

1885.—The Fenian John O'Leary returns to Ireland. General Election; result — Liberals, 331; Tories, 249; Home Rulers, 86; Independents, 4; the Irish Party hold the balance between Liberals and Tories.

1886 (Feb.).—*Third Gladstone Administration.*

Mr. Gladstone introduces a Home Rule Bill establishing an Irish Parliament; he is opposed by Lord Hartington, Mr. Chamberlain, Sir Henry James, Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Bright, Mr. Goschen, and other Liberals, and the Bill is defeated.

1886 (June, July). — General Election; result—Tories, 316; Liberals, 192; Home Rulers, 86; Liberal Unionists, 77. Union between Liberal Dissentients and Tories to maintain the Legislative Union between England and Ireland.

1886.—*Second Salisbury Administration.*

Renewed land agitation. Rejection in the Commons of Mr. Parnell's Bill to stay evictions.

1887.—"Plan of Campaign" to obtain a reduction of rents by enabling tenants to place what they considered fair rents in the hands of trustees, started by Mr. Dillon. Mr. Dillon and other Nationalists prosecuted for establishing the Plan of Campaign; the jury disagree, and the traversers are bound over to appear again. Tenants acting under the Plan of Campaign declared bankrupts. Nationalists

imprisoned for refusing to give evidence against the plan. Plan of Campaign continues in operation in defiance of the authorities. Ministers obtain "urgency" for a new Coercion Bill. Bill practically suspending trial by jury in political causes, and changing the venue in certain cases from Ireland to England, read a first time by the application of the Closure; majority, 108 (361 to 253).

APPENDIX C.

On April 2, 1833, Earl Grey's Coercion Bill became law. On April 15, 1834, Lord Wellesley thus described what the condition of things in Ireland was, despite the fact that a most stringent Coercion Act had been for twelve months in operation.

"A complete system of legislation, with the most prompt, vigorous, and severe executive power, sworn, equipped, and armed for all purposes of savage punishment, is established in almost every district. On this subject I cannot express my opinions more clearly, nor with more force nor justice, than your lordships will find employed in a letter addressed by Lord Oxmantown, Lieutenant of the King's County, to Mr. Littleton. Lord Oxmantown truly observes, that the combination established surpasses the law in vigour, promptitude, and efficacy, and that it is more safe to violate the law than to obey it." *

Notwithstanding this statement, it was deemed unnecessary to continue Lord Grey's very stringent Coercion Act in its original form. A mitigated Coercion Bill was introduced instead, and remained

* Letter from Lord Wellesley to Lord Melbourne. Papers relating to the state of Ireland. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, July 7, 1834, p. 5.

in force from July 30, 1834, to August 1, 1835. On August 1, 1835, a Public Peace Act was introduced by Lord Melbourne, with the concurrence and support of O'Connell. Its main provisions, as summarized by Mr. Leadham,* were—

1. Lord-Lieutenant in Council may order an extraordinary court of general sessions to be holden for any county in Ireland.

2. Such court to have power of any court of Oyer and Terminer, etc.

3. Prosecutors, offenders, witnesses, etc., shall be bound to attend thereat on receiving a written notice to that effect.

6. Offenders to be tried forthwith, unless court shall otherwise order.

7. Proceedings not to be removed by certiorari, etc.

8. Carrying or concealing firearms in certain cases to be deemed a misdemeanour.

9. Lord-Lieutenant, on presentment of grand jury, may direct such court to issue a notice enjoining the inhabitants of places therein specified to remain within their habitations at night.

10. Any persons found abroad in the night after such notice, in any place specified therein, shall be guilty of a misdemeanour.

11. After the day named in such notice, court may authorize by warrant domiciliary visits in the places therein specified, etc.

13. Court may summon and examine on oath persons certified to have been absent from their dwellings, and may imprison and fine any persons convicted thereof who cannot satisfactorily account for the same.

14. Act to be in force five years [*post*, p. 266].

* "Coercive Measures in Ireland."

APPENDIX D.

DRUMMOND AND THE LOCAL MAGISTRATES.

THE disposition shown by Drummond to employ the stipendiary magistrates in preference to the local ones on critical occasions, sometimes brought him into collision with the latter class, and made him very unpopular amongst them. He was cross-examined a good deal before the Roden Committee with reference to the practice. I shall give a specimen of this cross-examination. Upon one occasion the magistrates of a Western District reported to the Lord-Lieutenant that a very disturbed condition of things existed in their part of the country, and that it was almost impossible to obtain the conviction of offenders, owing to the system of intimidation which prevailed. Drummond at once directed the stipendiary magistrates to inquire into the matter, and the result of their inquiries showed that the local magistrates had not been quite correct in their views. Drummond was examined as to the transaction thus :—

Question. The [local] magistrates stated that juries did not convict from fear or intimidation?

Answer. And it being so stated, it became the duty of the Government to ascertain whether that opinion was correct or not. They wished to test the ground on which it rested, and to discover whether it was a sound opinion or not. The inquiry was, therefore, directed to ascertain whether in any one instance violence had been offered to the person or property of a juror.

Question. Why did not you apply to the local magistrates to prove their own statement, and not apply to the stipendiaries who made no such statement?

Answer. I think it is the business of the Government to make its own inquiries in the way it may deem most conclusive.

Question. Do you think that the stipendiary magistrates who have been resident—some a short, some a longer time—in the county, are better judges of the facts than the landlords of the counties who are magistrates?

Answer. I do decidedly; it is their sole and entire business to attend to such matters; and I think their opinions for which they are responsible are more carefully formed, and the grounds of them better and more carefully examined.

[Minutes of evidence of Roden Committee. Question 14, 342, *et seq.*].

APPENDIX E.

IRISH GRIEVANCES AND REMEDIES.

EXTRACT from a speech of Mr. Bright, delivered at Rochdale, December 23, 1867:—

"It is not my intention to say anything in the way of explanation of what I conceive to be the grievances under which the Irish people have laboured, nor of the remedies which ought long ago to have been applied. I have done this frequently both at public meetings and within the walls of the House of Commons. One thing, at any rate, I may be allowed to say with regard to them, that I entirely disagree with those who, when any crisis or trouble arises, say that you must first of all preserve order, you must put down all disloyalty and disobedience to the law, you must assert the supremacy of the Government, and then consider the grievances that are complained of. Generally, after having asserted the supremacy of the law, and having made what they call peace under the terrors of the law, the grievances are forgotten, and there is no consideration of them. This has been the case in Ireland for two hundred years. The great preserver there has been the gallows. Of late years the barbarity of the law has but rarely exhibited itself, but in former years the number of persons who suffered death by the law in Ireland was something wonderful and appalling to think of. Now, twenty years ago many of you will recollect that in Ireland, under the guidance of one of Ireland's

greatest sons, the late Mr. O'Connell, there were held in Ireland meetings of vast numbers of the people, equal probably in number to the meetings that were held a year ago in Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, Glasgow, and in London. Those meetings were held to condemn certain things that were evil in Ireland, to demand remedies, to even insist that there should be a repeal of the legislative union between the two countries, for many thought that only an Irish Parliament could abolish the miseries of Ireland, but there is not one of you that can point to any single great measure of justice which has been given to Ireland in consequence of these great meetings. They were on the other side of the Channel. They did not frighten Lord Derby like the meetings of last year. They were not so near home, and the Government in London always knew that they could count upon the power of Great Britain to prevent any great mischief being done across the Channel. The grievances were not remedied. The demands of the people were not conceded. Nothing has been done in Ireland except under the influence of terror. If you go back to the first time when the horrible penal laws were ameliorated, you will find it was during the time of the American War of Independence, when the Government in London felt that it would not do to have a great war with the colonies on hand, along with the disaffection in Ireland, that the penal laws were mitigated to some extent. In 1829 the Catholic Emancipation Bill was passed, but the Duke of Wellington admitted it was passed because he would not take the responsibility of civil war. Afterwards, when a great famine took place, a Poor Law was passed for Ireland, and the Encumbered Estates Court was established, in order that the sale of land might be made more free ; but, except under the pressure of some great emergency, no man can point to anything great or good having been done by the Imperial Parliament for the Irish nation. But if these huge meetings were disregarded, what was more natural or inevitable than that a certain portion of the people, not reasoning well, stimulated by an impassionate feeling of the wrongs

done to their country, should descend into the ranks, the odious and criminal ranks of a dark conspiracy? If last year Parliament had refused to extend the franchise, if all our great meetings had been held in vain, if the popular voice had risen so that all the world should have heard but the deaf members of the Imperial Legislature, you would have had in England, I will not say a dark and criminal conspiracy, but you would have had men who would gradually have worked their way among the people, and would have instructed them in principles and in practices which are near akin to the worst form of criminal conspiracy. There is nothing so safe as great meetings. Come together, look each other in the face, let the men who comprehend the things discuss them fairly before you consider them well for yourselves, vote by an open free vote in favour of the policy that you require, and then let your rulers take that voice as significant of the will of the country, and let them bend to it and give the country that which it demands. That has never been done for Ireland, and it is on this ground, and for this reason, that you have at this moment the terrible and calamitous state of things that exists."

APPENDIX F.

NO COERCION UNDER THE MELBOURNE MINISTRY.

THE Public Peace Act passed by the Government of Lord Melbourne in August, 1835 (*ante*, p. 260), was never put in operation. Lord John Russell made this statement in the House of Commons on June 15, 1846. He said, "In 1835 it was the declared intentions of the Ministers, who had then lately taken office, to govern Ireland upon principles more congenial to the feelings and affections of the great body of the people than had hitherto been the case. Full confidence was reposed in those Ministers—full confidence that the Bill which was then passed was entrusted to hands that would not abuse its powers. I may say that confidence was justified, for I believe that Bill was never put into operation. I cannot find from my noble friend, Lord Normanby, whom I have consulted upon the subject, that he ever put it in force. I asked him if it was not the case that persons expected he might use the power which

it gave him. He said, so far from that, he believed the fact of the power being in his hands was entirely forgotten, and that the existence of the Bill was scarcely remembered by the great body of the people. The fact is, certainly that from 1835 to 1840 the Bill was not put into operation; and in 1840, having to choose whether he would renew that Bill or not we deliberately determined not to renew it, and we allowed it to expire." *

* Hansard, 3rd series, vol. lxxxvii., p. 501.

APPENDIX G.

THE LORD-LIEUTENANTS AND CHIEF SECRETARIES OF IRELAND SINCE THE UNION.

[The italics denote those who were Irish, and the asterisks those who, whether Irish, English, or Scotch, possessed the confidence of the masses of the people.]

LORD-LIEUTENANTS.	CHIEF SECRETARIES.
1801.—Earl Hardwicke.	1801.—*Lord Castlereagh*, Abbot (afterwards Lord Colchester).
	1802.—Wickham.
	1804.—Sir E. Nepean.
	1805.—Vansittart (afterwards Lord Bexley).
1806.—Duke of Bedford.	1806.—Elliot.
1807.—Duke of Richmond.	1807.—*Sir Arthur Wellesley* (*Duke of Wellington*).
	1809.—Dundas (afterwards Lord Melville).
	,, *Wellesley Pole* (afterwards *Earl of Mornington*).
	,, ,, ,,
1813.—Viscount Whitworth.	
1817.—Earl Talbot.	1817.—Sir R. Peel.
	,, Grant (afterwards Lord Glenelg).

1821.—*Marquess of Wellesley.**

1828.—Marquess of Anglesey.*
1829.—Duke of Northumberland.
1830.—The Marquess of Anglesey.†

1833.—*Marquess of Wellesley.* ‡

1834.—The Earl of Haddington.
1835.—The Earl of Mulgrave* (afterwards Marquess of Normanby).
1839.—Lord Ebrington* (afterwards Earl Fortescue).§
1841.—Earl De Grey.
1844.—Lord Heytesbury.

1846.—Earl of Bessborough.
" " "
1847.—Earl of Clarendon.
1852.—Earl of Eglinton.
1853.—Earl of St. Germains.
1855.—Earl of Clarendon.

1858.—Earl of Eglinton.
1859.—Earl of Carlisle.

1864.—Earl of Kimberley.

1866.—Duke of Abercorn.
1868.—Earl Spencer.

1821.—Goulbourn.
1827.—Lamb (afterwards Lord Melbourne).
1828.—Lord F. L. Gower.
1829.—Sir H. Hardinge.
1831.—Stanley.
1833.—Sir J. C. Hobhouse. Littleton (afterwards Lord Hatherton).

1835.—Viscount Morpeth (afterwards Lord Carlisle).
" " "

1841.—Lord Elliot.

1845.—Sir T. Freemantle.
1846.—Earl of Lincoln.
" Henry Labouchere.
1847.—*Sir William Somerville.*
1852.—*Lord Naas.*
1853.—*Sir John Young.*
1855.—Edward Horsman.
1857.—*H. A. Herbert.*
1858.—*Lord Naas.*
1859.—Edward Cardwell.
1861.—Sir. R. Peel.

1865.—*Chichester Fortescue* (*Lord Carlingford*).
1866.—*Lord Naas.*
1868.—Colonel John Wilson Patten.
1868.—*Chichester Fortescue.*
1870.—Marquess of Hartington.

† The Marquess of Anglesey was recalled when he was most popular, and sent back when he had ceased to be popular.

‡ Came to administer a Coercion Act, and ceased to be popular.

§ Drummond was practically the Governor of the country from 1835 to 1840, and during all the time this Executive was very popular.

1874.—Duke of Abercorn.
1876.—Duke of Marlborough.

1880.—Earl Cowper.
1882.—Earl Spencer.

1886.—Lord Carnarvon.
,, Lord Aberdeen.*
,, The Marquess of Londonderry.

1874.—Sir M. Hicks-Beach.

1878.—James Lowther.
1880.—W. E. Forster.
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